

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1892.

The Week.

THE report, first published by the *Detroit Free Press*, that ex-Judge Thomas M. Cooley had determined to vote for Cleveland has been denied vigorously in many Republican quarters, and the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* has gone so far as to print a despatch from Ann Arbor, in which Mr. Cooley was credited with saying that the report was "entirely unauthorized and without foundation." In order to get at the truth in the matter, we wrote to a member of the Faculty of the University of Michigan, asking him to give us, if he were able to do so, the facts in the case. His letter contains the following:

"Judge Cooley authorizes me to say to you that he stands by the statement published in the *Detroit Free Press*, and that the supposed despatch of the *Inter-Ocean* is wholly false. He is willing you should say, if you care to, that he does not believe in the McKinley Bill, and that he expects to vote for Mr. Cleveland. More than this he does not care to have said, and he is entirely unwilling to publish a letter or to take any active part in the campaign."

We are confident that if the truth were known, the number of men, hitherto Republicans, who with Judge Cooley will vote for Mr. Cleveland because they do "not believe in the McKinley Bill," would be found to be very large and to be increasing steadily. The whole tendency of the Republican campaign has been to force that party upon the extreme high-tariff ground, and to make it plain to all voters that if Harrison were to be elected, the party would be committed to a still higher tariff than the McKinley Bill embodies. The *Tribune*, takes that position almost daily, saying, as on Monday, that the decision at the polls "will either sustain the Republican verdict of 1888 so emphatically that *protection will become the settled policy of the Government*, or will repeat the adverse verdict of 1890 so strongly that the country will thenceforth move toward free trade." It is difficult for the McKinleyites to realize that there is, even in the Republican party, a large number of men who do not wish to have "protection become the settled policy of the Government." These men have for several years been coming to the conclusion that the country has had more protection than was good for it, and, instead of being alarmed by the prospect of a tariff policy that will "move towards free trade," they are convinced that a policy of that kind is just what the country needs.

Amherst College, in Massachusetts, has thirty-three professors. Twenty-three of them favor the election of Grover Cleve-

land to the Presidency, as against seven for Harrison; and eighteen of the twenty-three have signed the following address:

"With Mr. Cleveland's views on public questions we agree. We admire his courage, his constancy, his public spirit, his studious neglect of his merely personal interests where they conflict with the calls of public duty. We remember his tariff message, his pension vetoes, and his letter against free silver as conspicuous instances of disregarding personal considerations for the public good. We therefore urge all our fellow-citizens to give Mr. Cleveland their hearty support."

The significance of this action can be fully comprehended only by people who are familiar with the history of political parties and the attitude towards them of educated men, particularly in New England, for a generation past. It is hardly necessary to say that, so far as selfish considerations are concerned, the professors would be moved to conceal their preference for Cleveland if they could not support Harrison. Massachusetts is a Republican State. A majority of the fathers who send sons to the College are strong Republicans. The institution has received more and larger gifts from Republicans than from Democrats, and among its benefactors are Republicans who have acquired their wealth through the high-tariff system which these professors denounce. Only a strong sense of duty could impel a body of men thus circumstanced to take a step which they knew must offend a majority of the supporters of the College. But in taking it they only illustrate that principle of "disregarding personal considerations for the public good" which is their ground of appeal for support of Mr. Cleveland.

A short time ago the New England Tariff-Reform League, in order to test the proposition that the foreigner pays the tariff tax on imported goods, made a proposition to the Boston Home-Market Club that they would give 13 shillings a box for 100,000 boxes of tin plate, the Liverpool quoted price being 12 shillings per box. They would give this to any foreigner who would pay the duty on the consignment. If, under existing conditions, the foreigner pays the duty, receiving only 12s. per box, here is an offer of 1s. per box as a bonus to him, or about \$25,000 on 100,000 boxes. Moreover, the League offered an additional bonus of \$10,000 to the Home Market Club for getting the contract, which it could well afford to do, seeing that the League would clear \$200,000 out of the operation by merely selling the tin plate at the prices prevailing in this country. This reasonable offer the Home-Market Club rejects with scorn. It has no doubt that an order for 100,000 boxes of tin plate would be "a great boon to your British allies," and that it would tend to "relieve their distress." (There it is again—they are in distress,

and this fills us with joy.) "If we had any orders to place," it continues, "we should prefer to give them to our new American industry, which has grown up entirely since the duty was made protective, which doubled its production in the second quarter of the year, more than doubled it in the third, and more than doubled it again in the fourth, and which has already developed a capacity equal to nearly one-third of the home demand, and has brought the foreign export price down to within a few cents per box of the duty." According to this calculation of the progress of the tin-plate industry, the time has nearly arrived for the establishment of a Trust, to continue as long as the Republican party remains in power. The glass industry was started in this country in 1638, and has been in continuous operation ever since. After an existence of 254 years it has ended in a Trust, or in a "combine" equivalent to that. Why should not the tin-plate men have an equal chance?

Mr. Blaine, in his often-quoted letter of July 11, 1890, on the pending McKinley Bill, used these words: "There is not a section or a line in the entire bill that will open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork." The so-called reciprocity clauses tacked on the bill before its passage have not made Mr. Blaine's prophecy any less certain of fulfilment. The course of our foreign trade under the McKinley Bill is shown by the following statement of imports and exports of merchandise, received from the Treasury Department on Thursday morning:

EXPORTS.			
	1891.	1892.	Decrease.
July	\$62,668,893	\$58,401,758	\$4,267,135
August...	72,685,541	64,843,761	7,841,780
Sept.	82,854,085	72,919,526	9,904,560
IMPORTS.			
	1891.	1892.	Increase.
July	\$67,042,035	\$71,526,414	\$4,484,379
August...	65,953,360	77,200,127	11,246,767
Sept.	61,504,737	72,993,023	11,488,286

These figures show no "broadening" of any foreign markets for American produce, and no "narrowing" of our own markets for foreign goods, as would be the case if reciprocity was providing new foreign buyers of our produce, and the protecting influence of higher duties was supplying our own wants with domestic products. Nor do we find in the prices of the articles named by Mr. Blaine any alteration that conflicts with his statement. Wheat closed in Chicago on July 11, 1890, at 88¼ cents a bushel, and on October 19, 1892, at 77¼

cents. Pork on the same dates was quoted at \$11.25 and \$11.85 a barrel, but the increase at the later date is due to other causes than "reciprocity"—the advance in corn and the broadening of our market by the admission of American pork to certain foreign markets from which it had been excluded on sanitary grounds. If Mr. Blaine is induced to make another speech for the Harrison ticket, we suggest that he take credit for his prescience.

A bit of incidental evidence showing that the McKinley tariff has not increased wages, but has decreased them if it has any effect on wages at all, is found in the recent report submitted by Mr. Geo. M. Pullman to the great company of which he is President. From the general information submitted with the report we make the following extract:

"The average number of names on the pay-rolls at Pullman for the year was 4,942, and wages paid \$2,918,997.41, making an average for each person employed of \$590.65, against \$610.73 for the previous year. The total number of persons in the employ of the company in its manufacturing and operating departments is 12,809, and wages paid during the year \$6,619,156.63. The number of employees for the previous year was 13,885, and wages paid \$7,303,108.42."

So it appears that in this particular instance not only was there a decline in the average rate of wages, but there was a less number of men employed by 1,076 than during the previous year. The explanation of the reduction in the number of men is found in the falling off of business in the car works to the extent of about \$1,500,000. But this is exactly what the McKinley tariff was to prevent, or rather it was to increase business and make employment for more men instead of less, and at higher wages than before. The Pullman car works are not a protected industry, but the virtue of the McKinley tariff was to be of that overflowing kind that diffuses itself and spreads to all industries. Like the quality of mercy, it was to bless him who gives and him who takes. But it will puzzle the company's employees, we think, to view the subject in that light.

One of the boasted fruits of the McKinley tariff has made its appearance in the form of a circular issued at Providence by the Anchor Pearl Company, boasting that it is making profits of 21 per cent. in the manufacture of pearl buttons, and inviting subscriptions for \$150,000 of capital stock in order to enlarge the works. When Senator Vest alleged that Mr. Whitman's woollen company was making 20 per cent. profits out of the tariff legislation that Mr. Whitman helped to frame, that gentleman denied the charge with great fervor, as though a crime had been imputed to him. No such modesty daunts the Anchor Pearl Company, whose 400 per cent. tax is perhaps the most odious item in the whole McKinley tariff.

For the benefit of intending investors as well as of inquiring voters, we will add that all inquiries should be addressed to William W. Rickard & Co., Bankers, No. 25 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

In a paper contributed by Sir Thomas Farrer to the *Forum* magazine, entitled "English Views of the McKinley Tariff," the fact is mentioned incidentally that the poor Cobden Club has been obliged to stop giving its annual dinner at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, for lack of funds, and that it is barely able to scrape together enough money to pay its printing bills. Sir Thomas says that this is the actual condition of a society "which is credited with the expenditure of millions in order to bribe foreigners to buy English goods." He thinks, apparently, that the stoppage of the annual dinner will be accepted on this side of the water as an answer to the charge that millions are expended by it in this country to buy votes for the Democrats. On the contrary, it will have the very opposite effect. It will carry conviction to thousands of loyal hearts that the charge is true, showing that the Club, whose main, if not sole, purpose is to carry elections in the United States, has spent so much money for that object that it has been obliged to economize in its food and drink. No, Sir Thomas, we can see through all that.

Charges of "colonization," illegal registration, and frauds upon the ballot-box of every sort are now made by each party against the other with daily increasing volubility. Three arrests are reported as having been made on Friday of Albany Democrats who were trying to register men illegally, and the Democratic managers say that they are going to have a number of Republican rascals arrested for attempting similar frauds. Good citizens will hope that all the "fine workers" on both sides who are trying to tamper with the election may be caught and punished. The most important thing is that all arrests for such alleged offences should, so far as possible, be made before election day. The worst feature of Supervisor Davenport's system in this city is his practice of arresting men on election day, locking them up until after election, and then letting them off, after causing them to lose their votes. The Republican United States Marshal for this district has just admitted before the Congressional Investigating Committee that he cannot recall a single conviction which has followed an arrest on a warrant issued by Davenport, although such warrants have been issued by the hundreds. It is a prostitution of power to disfranchise an innocent voter in this way, and the extent to which it is done by Davenport in this city gives a faint idea of the vast abuses which would grow up under the Force Bill system if applied to the whole country.

A great many readers of the *Tribune* must have shared the feeling of profound relief which took possession of us on Thursday when we opened the paper and learned from its leading editorial article that the letter of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid, accepting the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency, met the unequivocal and even hearty approbation of such a stern critic as the Hon. Whitelaw Reid himself. There has been a good deal of natural anxiety upon the subject among Republicans lest the *Tribune* might go back on the letter, or "damn it with faint praise," but this is all dispelled now. The *Tribune* says, without the slightest hesitation that we can detect, that it is not only a very good letter, but a far better one than Mr. Cleveland's. It is, says Mr. Reid, "plain-spoken, intelligible, and uncompromising," and is "markedly in contrast with the nebulous utterances and disingenuous silence of Mr. Cleveland." Mr. Reid himself was so relieved when he saw how highly he appreciated his own letter, that he started for Chicago immediately after committing his flattering views to paper.

One of the most melancholy incidents of the canvass is the suspension of Mr. Smalley, the Tory Squire whom the *Tribune*, for some unaccountable reason, pays for furnishing to its columns views of British politics diametrically opposed to those of the editor. The effect of this on the mind of the reader must, of course, be at times a little confusing, as for instance when the editor expresses the opinion in one column that Gladstone is a glorious old man, of whom England may well be proud, and the Squire in the adjoining column intimates that he is a wicked old charlatan, bent on the ruin of the empire. But then a regular *Tribune* reader is used to contradictories, and, for the most part, swallows his dose like a man. There are times, however, when it is impossible to allow Mr. Smalley to range at will, and the approach of an election in which the Irish vote is needed is one of them. His opinions about Gladstone, home rule, and the Irish nation are such that to pay him for printing them in the *Tribune* just now would cause large bodies of our Irish fellow-citizens, it is supposed, to deny that the McKinley tariff had raised prices, and to allege that the consumer paid the duty, and that Egan was a bad man, and to vote accordingly. To prevent this extremely undesirable result, Mr. Smalley has, we understand, been "laid off" until after election, and his place has been filled by an English Liberal of much humbler origin and in lower social position than Mr. Smalley, who takes the regular Republican view of Gladstone and Egan. But, suitable as this arrangement may be for the *Tribune*, it is a very bad one for the English people, for there is little question that the watchful eye which the Squire has kept on both

Gladstone "and the Gladstonian organ," and the reproofs he has administered to them in the *Tribune*, have had a most wholesome restraining influence on both of them. On the excesses into which they have probably been led by Mr. Smalley's retirement, we do not like to speculate, and we are weary thinking of his load when we picture to ourselves the trouble he will have when he gets back, in reducing them once more to decency and morality after so long a period of unbridled license.

Webster Flannagan, the Texas Republican who leaped into fame by asking in the Republican National Convention of 1880, "What are we here for if not for the offices?" now comes before the public again, this time through the action of a Grand Jury. Flannagan some time ago got what he was after, in the shape of the Collectorship of Customs at El Paso, Tex., but, not satisfied with the lawful emoluments of that office, it is charged that he has been making money illegitimately by conniving at the entrance of Chinamen into the United States. For some months past Chinese have been entering El Paso in great numbers, and it is charged that they have been conducted across the line by officials of the Government which has passed a law against their admission. Besides Flannagan, a special deputy collector was arrested on Monday, and an indictment is understood to have been found also against a special agent named Irvin, who is now making Republican stump-speeches in Nebraska. The Grand Jury also criticises the customs officials for making unwarrantable seizures of stock found grazing along the border, and altogether Flannagan must be inclined to wonder whether it is worth while to serve so censorious a community.

Touching the Tammany nominations, that of Mr. Gilroy for the Mayoralty is the best the Boss could have made without going outside the Tammany circle. Mr. Gilroy is by general consent of those who have had to do with him an able man, perhaps the only one of the lot who would be recognized in business circles as a business man. He has, according to all accounts, administered his department well, with an apparent avoidance of jobbery and corruption, although he started with an assistant in the person of "Barney" Martin, who was then fresh from an untraversed indictment for bribery. In short, there is no better Tammany man for the Mayoralty than Mr. Gilroy, and if he could get rid of his associates, his administration of the Mayoralty would probably compare favorably with that of anybody who could be nominated by any party. But he is a Tammany man. He owes all he is to Tammany, and has been identified with it in good and evil fortune since the days of Tweed, under whom he began his political

career. The very goodness of his administration—should it be as good as there is reason to expect—will go to strengthen the hold of Tammany on the other offices which it reserves for the riffraff. It will rebound to the credit of the Boss and of the Boss system of government.

But the nomination of Frank T. Fitzgerald for the additional Surrogateship is a different matter and calls for more comment. The Surrogateship is a judicial office of the highest importance, especially in a great city like ours. His jurisdiction covers the proving of wills and all contests over their validity, the administration of the estates of deceased persons, and the appointment of administrators and guardians of children. No judicial office, in fact, is saddled with more responsibility, or needs to be filled by men of a higher grade of character. Old New Yorkers will remember when Alexander W. Bradford, one of the foremost men at the New York bar, ranking with Charles O'Connor and Daniel Lord, was thought none too good for it. Now, Mr. Frank T. Fitzgerald has filled the office of County Register since 1888, being when elected already a member of Congress, and he drew salary from both offices for nine months. He was examined as to his administration of the Register's Office by the Fassett Committee in 1890, when he confessed that his office was "a Tammany heirloom"; and it appeared that the custodian whose duty it is to guard the books of record in behalf of the city was a head-bartender in a liquor-saloon, dividing his time between bartending and the public service, the latter getting much the smaller share. Another custodian was discovered who divided his time between a pawn shop and the Register's office; and although the business of the office was much smaller than it used to be, its subordinate working force had been increased from 16 to 50, and its salary list for them from \$125,000 to \$153,000. There was more entertaining evidence of the same sort, showing that the office under Mr. Fitzgerald was really a sort of roosting-place for Tammany drones and incapables. Yet his administration of it is now treated as proper preparation for one of the most important judicial trusts in this State, or, indeed, in any civilized community, just as Barney Martin's corruption in the Sheriff's office was treated as proper preparation for the Deputy Commissionership of Public Works at a far larger salary than he had ever received.

The death of Mrs. Harrison has been so long anticipated by her physician, her family, and the public that the announcement of the event does not take anybody by surprise. Although it does not produce a shock, it does move profound sympathy for the President among all classes, and none will feel this more deeply than

those whose sense of political duty compels them to vote for Mr. Cleveland. Indeed, we can well believe that there will be no more sincere sympathizer, outside of the President's immediate circle, than Mr. Cleveland himself. Mrs. Harrison was an irreproachable wife and mother, possessing all the dignity which her position called for.

The statement of foreign commerce and immigration for September shows the effect of the President's proclamation enforcing a long quarantine upon immigrants. During September, 1891, there arrived at this port 41,954 immigrants; during September just past, only 21,824. Most of these, of course, had embarked before the new orders were put into effect, and the figures for October will show a still greater falling off. Some of the steamship companies manifest a disposition to resume business in this line as fully as possible, but the Cunard Company has issued a circular announcing that until further notice the ships of the line will bring from Europe in the steerage American citizens, residents of the United States who may not be citizens, and wives and children of residents of the United States, as well as aliens who may desire to visit the United States without intending to remain or reside here, but no aliens whose purpose is to remain and reside in the United States.

Every week brings the news that some last survivor of the forces hostile to the French Republic, some newspaper, or some man hitherto supposed to be irreconcilable and unreconcilable, has toppled over and fallen at last. M. Paul de Cassagnac's own provincial newspaper, the *Électeur*, of Gers, a younger brother of the *Autorité*, has just been fatally touched. Its old supporters have, for the most part, deserted it, and M. de Cassagnac announces, almost with tears, that it will follow them and hoist the Republican flag. The faithful few among its subscribers will henceforth receive the *Autorité* gratis. But far more astonishing even than this is the conversion of M. de Mackau, which he himself has recently announced in a speech at Carrouges. The man who has been so long the unchallenged head of the anti-constitutionalist Opposition, the leader of the Union des Droites, the most ardent apostle of "parallel action" with the Boulangists, the President of the famous Committee of Twelve, who, as the *Temps* says, during that furious campaign concentrated in himself and incarnated all the plots and compromises and tricks and hates of the Republic's adversaries—even M. de Mackau at last accepts the Republic! Political observers may well enough ask, Who will be the next? But they will have no greater surprise than this—not even if they shall see M. Paul de Cassagnac himself beating his breast and saying his "Confiteor."

"A GIGANTIC BUNCO GAME."

THE above is the name which Mr. Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia gives to the Democratic canvass. The epithet occurs in a long article in last week's *Independent* on "The Duty of Political Independents." The reason why the Democratic canvass is a bunco game, and Mr. Cleveland the "bunco-steerer in chief," is that although the party has declared that a tariff for protection is unconstitutional, it nevertheless declares also that it has no intention of establishing immediate free trade. This is "bunco" No. 1. It is about as sensible as would be a charge of fraudulent pretence against a party which declared that the Government issue of legal-tender notes was unconstitutional, and yet also declared that it had no thought of repudiating such notes as were already afloat.

His next charge is that, in proposing the resurrection of State banks of issue as the best mode of providing an elastic currency, which Government paper is not and cannot be, the Democratic party must of necessity have intended to revive also all that was bad in the old State banks—that they must mean to restore the "red-dog" and "wild-cat" currency; that they cannot have had in their mind such banks as the Scotch or Irish, or the old New York or Massachusetts banks, and he describes the "red-dog" and "wild-cat" currency with some detail. Curiously enough, unconscious, we are sure, of the figure it makes him cut in the forum of morals, he then proceeds to accuse Mr. Cleveland of "dishonesty" for taking his stand on this currency plank of the Chicago platform. Any elementary book of ethics will tell him that to put the worst possible construction on an opponent's language, when an entirely different one is not only possible but far the more probable, and base on it a charge of fraud, is recognized by all moralists as a departure from truthfulness as well as from decency. We should pass such a performance on the stump from Major McKinley or "Tom" Platt without notice, but from Mr. Henry C. Lea—oh, the pity of it! He does take passing notice of the fact that there is "a vague pretence that restrictions can be imposed which will diminish the admitted evils of the old State banks," but, after arguing that in his opinion such restrictions would not be effective, he politely intimates that suggestions of this sort "can scarce deceive even those who make them."

These are, however, comparatively trifling matters. This article in the *Independent*, in which Mr. Cleveland is treated as "a bunco-steerer" because he does not agree with Mr. Lea on the tariff and the currency, was written by the same gentleman who, on the 10th of April, 1890, in an open letter to President Harrison, accused him in terms of having entered into an "alliance," after full warning of his character, with a man who ought to be "in the penitentiary," namely, Quay; of having

accepted "his man" Wanamaker as a Cabinet officer; of having placed in the hands of this Quay, with this full knowledge of his character, increased opportunities for a fraudulent and corrupt use of the public service; and summed up by informing the President that "he had degraded his party to its lowest level, till it no longer deserved or enjoyed public confidence," and had "earned for it the denunciation of the Hebrew prophet, 'The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money, yet they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord among us? Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field and Jerusalem become heaps!'"

Now, neither President Harrison nor the party has changed in the smallest degree in the two years since this was written. Quay is as potent as ever in its councils, and Wanamaker is still in the Cabinet, and is carrying on the old games which Clarkson initiated, and the President has continued to use his patronage in exactly the way Mr. Lea had in his mind when he accused him of having "entered into a political partnership" with Mr. Quay. Yet when the Independents undertake to plough this corrupt Zion as a field, and turn this rascally Jerusalem into heaps, and chase away the venal judges, priests, and prophets, Mr. Lea turns on them and abuses them, and actually urges his friends to give another term in the Presidency to the partner of Quay and Wanamaker.

This is not all. He passes over without notice the fact that the Republican party introduced and forced through the McKinley Bill, as a means of making things dear. This is the object of any protectionist measure. It can have no other. If it did not make things dearer it would not protect, and would, in fact, be mischievous child's-play. Knowing this, President Harrison praised dearness, and denounced cheapness as un-American and degrading; so did McKinley; so did Lodge; so did Reed; so did they all. At the election of 1890, however, the voters expressed in a very forcible way their disapproval of dearness, and their desire, in common with the sane portion of the rest of the human race, for cheapness. Thereupon the Republican leaders turned round, and declared that the McKinley Bill was intended to promote cheapness and had done so. Here is a small specimen of this thimblèrigging:

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

In March, 1888.

"I am one of those un-instructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap, so that I cannot find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheaper coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coats."

In September, 1892.

"In view of this showing of an increase in wages, of a reduction in the cost of articles of common necessity, and of marked advance in the prices of agricultural products, it is plain that this Tariff Law has not imposed burdens, but has conferred benefits, upon the farmer and the workingman."

MR. MCKINLEY.

Speech at Kalamazoo, October 14, 1890.

"Well, now, they say you would have things cheaper if you only had a Democratic revenue tariff. Cheap! I never liked the word. 'Cheap' and 'nasty' go together. This whole system of cheap things is a badge of poverty, for cheap merchandise means cheap men, and cheap men mean a cheap country, and that is not the kind our fathers builded. Furthermore, it is not the kind the sons mean to maintain."

Speech at Boston, October 4, 1892.

"But they said this protective tariff law of 1890 was going to increase the price of food and diminish the wages of the laborer. It has done neither. The necessities of life are cheaper to-day than eighteen months ago, the commodities that go into the household of every man and woman are cheaper than eighteen months ago, and the price of labor has increased to some extent."

Now, what would Mr. Lea say to a man who sold him a freezer guaranteed to make ice, and, when it was found to produce nothing but hot water, should impudently maintain that hot water was what it was always meant for, and that hot water was far better than ice even for cooling purposes? Would he not promptly put the law in force against him? Could "Hungry Joe" play a worse trick on a confiding farmer? But bad as it is or would be, is it not in all respects worthy of the President's "political partners"? Nevertheless, not one word of mention does Mr. Lea make of this fraud in his letter, but actually bestows on Mr. Cleveland the epithets which it has earned for McKinley and his tribe.

ANTI-BOODLE LEAGUES WANTED.

A STEP has been taken in Massachusetts which ought to be imitated in this State and in the few others which have corrupt-practices acts. The new act of that kind which was passed by the last Massachusetts Legislature will have its first trial in the present campaign and election. In most respects it is the most stringent law of the kind yet enacted in this country. It requires a full accounting by both committee and candidates of all money spent, sworn publication being required after election. Its promoters are not content, however, with the enactment of the law, but have formed an association for the purpose of securing the law's enforcement. They have chosen Mr. Edwin L. Sprague of Boston President of their organization, which they have named the Election Laws League of Massachusetts. Mr. Morrill Wyman, jr., of Cambridge is the Secretary, and Mr. Richard H. Dana of Boston is Treasurer. Among the vice-presidents are men prominent in both political parties, such as Mayor Matthews, Eben S. Draper, Sigourney Butler, Col. Henry Lee, Samuel W. McCall, Josiah Quincy, and William Endicott. The Executive Committee is also made up of representatives of the Republican, Democratic, and People's party, and one or two Independents. The constitution of the League declares its objects to be the dissemination of information relative to existing legislation designed to prevent corrupt practices in election,

and the exertion of zealous effort by the League's members to enforce the Massachusetts law and bring all violators of it to punishment. This is precisely the machinery needed in every State having such a law. So long as it is nobody's business to enforce the law, just so long will it be defied by the corrupters of the suffrage; but the moment there is not only danger of detection and punishment, but very positive assurance of both, the law will be respected and obeyed.

In New York State the need of such an organization is made more and more imperative daily through the publication of the remarkable series of "boodle circulars" which Mr. Hackett, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican State Committee, is sending out. There have been a half-dozen or more of these captured by the enemy and published. Of the lot, three are such palpable confessions of corrupt designs that the *Tribune* and other Republican organs do not dare print them. The first one was dated August 31, and was directed to all the postmasters of the State. In it Mr. Hackett said:

"I desire to obtain from you the names of from eight to twelve of the most active, earnest, discreet, and trustworthy young REPUBLICANS who will get their mail at your post-office. I particularly wish, also, that you keep this request a secret, even from those whose names you furnish me. I want twelve names, but if there are but ten or eleven, send the ten or eleven; if only eight or nine, send them. Your prompt service in this matter will not be forgotten."

When he had obtained the names of these "discreet" Republicans, Mr. Hackett sent out, presumably to them, his second and more famous circular, which the *Tribune* refused to print even as a paid advertisement, and which stated as follows the service he wished them to perform:

"DEAR SIR: I know you are an active, earnest, and sincere Republican, and that Republican success is dear to your heart.

"It is the desire of the New York State Republican Committee to be permitted to request you to do some particular service for the Republican cause from time to time during the canvass. Such service will call for the exercise of caution and the ability to keep a secret.

"Are you willing to undertake such duty to help secure Republican success? If you are willing to do so, send me the name of a Democrat among your acquaintances who you believe can be induced to vote the Republican ticket this fall. If more than one, give their names and place your letter in the enclosed envelope. Please sign the list with your full name and post-office address plainly written.

"You may be sure that any service you may be able to render will not be forgotten."

There has never been any doubt as to the meaning of these two circulars. They reveal a "boodle campaign" as plainly as possible. On Thursday morning a third circular was published in the same series, which, while further revealing the plan of the campaign, shows that the boodle distribution has begun. It is addressed to the Chairman of the Republican County Committee of Schenectady County, and reads as follows:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE,
FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL,
NEW YORK, October 17, 1892.
MY DEAR SIR: I enclose you check for

\$300. This is to be used in getting a full registration in your country districts. I don't expect any of it to be used in the cities, as you should have those taken care of by this time. Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours truly,
C. W. HACKETT,
Chairman Executive Committee.
Henry Bradt, Esq.; Schenectady.

In the rural districts of Schenectady County there are only about two thousand registered voters, of whom less than one-half are Republicans. To be able to devote \$300 to the work of registering less than one thousand voters shows a very affluent condition of finances in Mr. Hackett's Headquarters. As the circular to the Schenectady Chairman has undoubtedly been sent to the chairmen of all other counties in the State, the scale of expenditure allowed for getting the country vote registered in each of the sixty counties can be readily calculated. The total is placed by Mr. Sheehan at not less than \$260,000. Mr. Hackett says expressly that the cities have been provided for in other ways; and as the expense of doing this must obviously be far greater than that of the same work in the country districts, experts place the total outlay of Mr. Hackett's committee, for registering expenses alone, as high as \$750,000.

It is preposterous to say that anything like such a sum of money is needed for the work. The use of it confirms the suspicion that has been prevalent for some time that the Hackett boodle plan is to bribe as many Democrats as possible to refrain from registering. After this work has been completed, other boodle will be used to bribe Democratic voters who have registered to stay away from the polls on Election Day. Offences of this kind are expressly prohibited by the Corrupt-Practices Act, under severe penalties. The offences of bribing a man to refrain from voting and of accepting such bribe are pronounced "infamous crimes" by the act, and a person convicted of offering such a bribe, in addition to imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than a year, will also be compelled to forfeit any office to which he may have been elected; and a person convicted of accepting such a bribe will, in addition to the imprisonment prescribed, be excluded from the right of suffrage for five years. It ought to be easy to obtain proof of Mr. Hackett's wholesale operations, provided there were an organization of men who should make it their business to collect such evidence; and the friends of honest elections in all parts of the State cannot do a greater service to the country than to make such organizations without delay. Let Mr. Hackett and his boodlers be given to understand that if they buy the Presidency, they do it at the cost of imprisonment and disgrace both for themselves and the men whom they bribe.

AN OLD BUBBLE PRICKED.

ONE of the oldest bubbles of the protectionist school, perhaps the oldest of all of

them, is the affirmation that the manufacturing prosperity of France dates from the introduction of the protective tariff by Colbert, the Finance Minister of Louis XIV. This was a favorite argument of the late Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania, and has done good service in many a "campaign of education." This bubble is so effectually pricked by Mr. James Breck Perkins in his new history of 'France under the Regency' that it can never, we think, be inflated so as to do any valuable service again. Mr. Perkins proves conclusively that protective tariffs were in force in France before Colbert came into power, that he merely raised the duties, in the McKinley fashion, and that the result was a great depression of trade, and especially of manufactures, in France. It is shown that Colbert did introduce order, system, and personal honesty into the finances of the kingdom; that he abolished a lot of special privileges, and removed a lot of blood-suckers from the body politic. To this extent he was a public benefactor; but even these blessings did not offset the malign influence of his high tariffs, which ground the faces of the poor and eventually crushed the manufacturing industry which they were intended to promote. It should be added here that Mr. Perkins, the author of this notable work, is a Republican in politics, and was formerly elected by his party to the office of District Attorney in the city of Rochester in this State.

We take up this subject not because we consider the arguments drawn from Colbert by the protectionists very potent, but because the course that protectionism ran in his time and under his auspices has very much in common with our own economic history. Mr. Perkins shows first that protective tariffs can be traced back as far as the seventh century: "they can be found wherever trade was sufficient to attract the attention of the Government, and the facilities of transportation made it possible for one country to deal with another." Colbert found the "American system" (we believe that was what Mr. Clay and some others since his time called it) existing when he came into office. It had been enforced more or less by Philip the Fair, by Francis I., by Charles IX., and by Louis XI. French manufactures were not inferior to any other in the world at that time. Colbert set out with the fixed idea that money was the only form of wealth, or, as he put it: "It is the abundance of money in a State which alone makes the difference in its greatness and its power." In order to secure an abundance of money, it was necessary, in his view, to prevent the buying of foreign goods, and this, he reasoned, would have the additional blessed effect of providing employment for "our own people." We have heard something of this sort from our Mr. McKinley the present year.

It was a peculiarity of the period in which Colbert flourished that he did not need to consult anybody but the King

Practically he did not need to consult anybody about the finances, because the King concerned himself only with the spending of money, not with the raising of it. So all Colbert needed to do was to map out a policy and put it into execution. And here we can see how great minds run in the same channel, for Colbert, like McKinley, not only adopted tariffs, but bounties also, and monopolies on top of all. Foreign workmen were imported "under contract," and among these were some workers in tin from Saxony—not from Wales. Colbert had another idea, and that was that large establishments where multitudes of people are congregated together constitute manufactures, while the same number of people working at home do not. So he granted monopolies or gave subsidies, here and there, to carry out this conception. For example, he gave a monopoly for ten years in the making of point lace, which enabled the proprietors to pay 30 per cent. dividends, but he was obliged to protect the establishment against riots of the working people, who claimed that 8,000 persons had been forced to abandon the craft by which they had long obtained their livelihood, and the girls employed in the new manufactory complained that they were forced to work for less wages than they had formerly earned when working for themselves at home.

Another peculiarity of Colbert's system was that none of the manufactures started by tariffs, bounties, or monopolies was ever able to go alone afterwards, or to continue long on the amount of Government pay allotted to it, but was always asking for more. It was not necessary in those days for the protected or bountied classes to contribute money to carry the next election. Therefore, Colbert felt free to express his opinion about them. He never had any doubt about the efficiency of the system he was pursuing, but he berated the inefficiency of the particular persons whom he had chosen to illustrate it. "The merchants," he wrote in 1671, "do not try to surmount by their own industry the difficulties which they encounter so long as they hope to find easier means through the authority of the King. They seek to obtain advantages of every sort, and declare that unless aided their manufactures will be ruined." This might be said of the Dolans and Whitmans of the present day. Forty years after the manufacture of laces had been undertaken by the royal assistance, one of the subsidized manufacturers who had failed, applied to the King for a pension and it was granted. "Never have manufactures decayed so fast in the kingdom," wrote the superintendent from Rouen in 1685, "*as since we have endeavored to increase them by the interference of the Government.*" The system had then been in operation twenty-one years.

Mr. Perkins distinguishes between the disasters caused by the wars of Louis XIV. and those caused by the industrial policy of Colbert. A potent cause of the triple alliance against France and the war of 1672

was Colbert's tariff of 1667. As years rolled on, Colbert became more and more a protectionist and a pedant, and French industry sank lower and lower. He applied the paternal principle to the dyeing of cloth as well as to the making of it. Regulations were issued prescribing the width and the margin and the color of woven fabrics. "The artisan who, by accident, made a piece of cloth a few inches shorter or longer than the size prescribed, might be exposed in the public square, and consider his offence while boys threw rotten eggs at him." The same interference was applied to the industry of the colonies. "The planter in the West Indies had to raise and prepare his sugar to comply with usages established at Bordeaux. Girls were sent out to become wives of the colonists, and Colbert wrote the Governor that they must all be married within fifteen days at latest."

The thirty-eight pages which Mr. Perkins gives to the industrial policy and achievements of Colbert are very instructive and amusing, and especially so if one is inclined to make comparisons between the economic policy of those days and of our own time.

WAYS OF CHOOSING PRESIDENTS.

THE recent decision of the Supreme Court, sustaining unanimously and unreservedly the constitutionality of the district system of choosing Presidential electors which has been adopted in Michigan, brings up the whole subject of the best method of filling the chief executive office. This was one of the hardest problems which the framers of the Constitution had to solve, and so many and conflicting were the schemes proposed that for many days it seemed as though no agreement could ever be reached. The plan finally adopted was theoretically almost an ideal one—that each State should select a number of electors equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives, these electors to be the most eminent citizens of their respective States, and that they should pick out the most eminent statesman in the whole nation for its chief magistrate. So beautiful, indeed, was this theory that Hamilton, writing in the *Federalist*, thought it "not too strong to say that there will be a constant probability of seeing the station filled by characters preëminent for ability and virtue." Never did a theory more utterly collapse in practice. The framers of the Constitution were not dead before the Presidential elector had sunk into a mere machine, without a particle of independence, obliged to cast his vote for a certain candidate.

The method of choosing Presidential electors was originally left to the Legislatures of the various States simply because it was thought that different States might find different plans worked out by themselves better than any uniform system which could be devised. As the Supreme

Court has just decided, the grant of power to the Legislatures was absolute. They might adopt any "manner" of appointing the electors which they chose, and various manners were immediately adopted. In half-a-dozen States the Legislatures named the electors. In New Hampshire an act was passed under which the people virtually nominated the electors, but the actual appointment was reserved for the Legislature. In Massachusetts the people of each Congressional district brought in their ballots for two candidates for electors, and the Legislature chose one of these two for each district, besides naming the two electors-at-large. The Legislatures of three States passed laws providing for popular election of the whole number of electors.

It is obvious that the absolute vesting of the appointing power in the Legislature of each State affords opportunity for sharp practice, and the "fathers of the Republic" were not above that sort of thing. Pennsylvania had chosen electors by popular vote in the first, second, and third Presidential elections, and although it was the practice to pass a law every four years which expired after each election, the system was regarded by everybody as a permanent one. In 1796 all but one of the fifteen electors thus chosen had been supporters of Jefferson. During the Adams Administration, however, the Federalists carried the State, and as the State Senators were elected by classes, for four years, that party in 1800 controlled the upper branch of the Legislature by 13 to 11, although more recent elections had given the other (Jefferson) party the Governorship and House of Representatives, and shown that it would again carry the State on a popular vote. Obviously the Jefferson men were entitled to the State. But the Federalists in the Senate would not consent to either a popular election or an election by joint ballot of the Legislature, where they would be outvoted. They held their ground firmly, and finally compelled a compromise by which a Jefferson State was made to give seven votes for Adams, as against eight for Jefferson, receiving therefor this glowing tribute from a Federalist organ:

"The Federal thirteen deserve the praises and the blessings of all America. They have checked the mad enthusiasm of a deluded populace and the wicked speculation of designing demagogues. On reviewing the present aspect of our political affairs, it may be figuratively said, *They have saved a falling world!*"

The desirability of an amendment to the Constitution which would prevent a resort to such "dodges" as this was early perceived; and when the changes demanded by the Jefferson-Burr controversy were made, it was suggested that one part of the new system should be a provision for the choice of all electors by popular vote, the States to be divided for that purpose into districts. But the matter never got beyond the stage of newspaper discussion until 1813, when a proposition for such an amendment was made by a Congressman

from North Carolina, where the Legislature had suddenly deprived the people of their traditional right to choose Presidential electors. After some debate, the proposition was rejected by a narrow majority, but three years later the same member secured a good majority for his plan, though not the necessary two-thirds. During "the era of good feeling," under Monroe, it appeared as though the amendment would be carried through Congress. Between 1817 and 1822 the Senate twice sent such a proposition to the House, besides endorsing the principle a third time by nearly the requisite two-thirds; but the House each time either laid the matter on the table by a close vote, or failed to give it the necessary two-thirds, and finally, in 1822, refused to consider it at all. After this last rebuff the advocates of the change seem to have lost heart, and no further attempt to secure the amendment of the Constitution was made.

The drift towards the system of choosing all the electors of a State by popular vote, which was evident from the first, became so pronounced that after 1832 no State pursued any other method except South Carolina, which stuck to the practice of choice by the Legislature down to the civil war. The generation which has grown up since that time is so accustomed to the existing system that Congressmen and editors were found in Michigan who actually declared that they had never heard of any other, and that the adoption of the district plan would be "revolutionary." The Supreme Court has decided that the Michigan plan is entirely constitutional, but every candid man must admit that it is unfair and unjust for one State to adopt a system which gives one party an advantage over the other, as this does. All of the other forty-three States elect by popular vote, and the minority will not secure a single elector in any one of those forty-three States. It is not right that the Democrats of Michigan should get four or more of the fourteen electoral votes from that State, even if the Republicans have a majority of the whole popular vote, while the Republicans of New Jersey, for example, do not get a single electoral vote, although they may carry, as in 1888, a majority of the Congressional districts.

Obviously there ought to be uniformity in the matter, and the only way to secure such uniformity is by the adoption of a constitutional amendment. Only three systems will be seriously thought of—the common one, of electing all a State's electors by popular vote on one ticket; the district system in some form, most naturally by the choice of one elector in each Congressional district, and the two electors at-large by the Legislature; and the election of President by popular vote of the whole Union, without the intervention of electors—the candidate who receives the most votes to secure the office.

THE COLLIERY STRIKE AT CARMAUX.

PARIS, October 12, 1892.

FOR nearly two months the miners belonging to the collieries of Carmaux, a small town in the Department of the Tarn, have been on strike. We have had in the last few years strikes more important in many respects—for the number of workmen idle, for the disarrangement threatened in the public services, or for the sanguinary conflicts they have provoked. Of all such strikes, however, that at Carmaux is at once the most interesting and the saddest to note. Certain trouble-boding tendencies, hitherto more or less clearly outlined in the distance, have suddenly developed into concrete shape in a manner that causes anxiety; and, whatever happens, the counter-effects of present events will make themselves felt for a long time to come. It may even happen that the Ministry will be so affected by them as to fall upon the reopening of the Chambers.

One of the consequences of the principle of the liberty of labor, so say the political economists, is the right of workmen to combine together in order to obtain from their employers the advantages to which they may think themselves entitled by circumstances—such, for instance, as the raising of wages or the diminution of the hours of labor. Though the principle of the liberty of labor has been long recognized in France, it was only in 1864 that the workmen succeeded in making good their claim to be allowed to strike. Twenty years later a new law was passed, which considerably increased the facilities at their disposal when engaged in a struggle with the employers. After a series of debates that continued for several years, the Chambers voted in 1884 an important law in reference to kinds of trades unions (*syndicats professionnels*). By the terms of this law—affecting, it is true, the interests of the workman in the greater proportion—both workmen and employers can freely combine; in other words, can form associations, without let or hindrance, of which the members shall belong to the same trade or profession. These associations, which are authorized to acquire property and to plead in a court of justice, may in their turn associate together and form larger amalgamations.

These trades unions were no sooner formed than they assumed great importance from the very fact that they grouped and disciplined large bodies of workmen, taught them how to agree on the claims to make, and how to act with greater unity. Certain large firms wished to prevent their workmen from thus acquiring greater power, and sought to hinder the growth of the unions. They refused to treat with them, or endeavored to weed out the workmen that belonged to them. As a result of this attitude, strikes ensued in which the workmen had generally the best of it; and so up to the present time the influence of the unions has grown, until now they are beginning to go beyond the purpose for which they were originally formed. Their original object was, as a matter of fact, a wholly economic one. According to the law, they exist for "the study and the defence of industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests." But by a kind of natural tendency and by reason of the close relationship existing between economic, social, and political questions, they come at length often enough to take up an attitude distinctly political. This is so at Carmaux. If in preceding strikes one might see political issues involved, yet industrial questions were clearly preponderant, and the ordinary strike, as I said

above, was always one arising out of their treatment. In the Carmaux case the question is entirely different. There is no dispute here as to wages, hours of labor, or the recognition of a union. The workmen have struck for a reason purely political.

Among the workmen in the employ of the mining company was a man named Calvignac, who possessed considerable influence among the members of the trades unions. At the last municipal elections he was elected town councillor, and was chosen subsequently by the Council to be Mayor of the town. Absorbed by his new duties, he began, from the day of his election, to be more and more irregular at his ordinary work. Intimations were given him in reference to this state of things. It was either out of his power or not in his desire to take notice of them, and ultimately the company discharged him. This step at once caused a great commotion. The workmen protested. They declared that Calvignac had been sent away for the sole reason that he had been chosen Mayor, and that the company, with their capitalist and middle-class sympathies, were not willing to admit that such duties should be performed by a workman. So the workmen demanded his reinstatement. The company replied that it did not matter to them whether Calvignac were Mayor or not; but that since he did not attend regularly to the work he was engaged to do, they did not intend to keep him, and should maintain their first decision. The strike was forthwith declared, and the union that had given the order began to make arrangements for its continuance until such time as the company would yield.

As soon as this state of things was made public, a veritable swarm of politicians descended upon Carmaux, as indeed always happens in like circumstances—Socialist and workingmen Deputies who have made a sort of specialty of this kind of affair. In general these latter are men who reach the position they occupy by means of working-class agitations. For instance, one of them is a former innkeeper from the Department of the Nord, who, having been the ringleader in a certain number of strikes—innkeepers are only too willing to play this part, since suspension of work often enough fills their bar-rooms—acquired a notoriety among the Socialist party, and succeeded in getting himself elected as one of the Deputies for Paris. Men of this kind, who have nothing else to keep them in power but the popularity they acquire among the workmen, introduce themselves everywhere that an agitation arises, take the lead of the movement, and fan the passions already excited into greater activity. They know neither the difficulties nor the responsibilities of the employers, and if the strike is prolonged they are not the ones who suffer. Accordingly they never advise conciliation even when they are charged with a mediatory mission. They always seek to give the dispute the greatest importance possible, and, thanks to them, Parliament, which has really no concern in the matter, generally intervenes. A strike such as this one at Carmaux, being placed from the very first on a political footing, furnished these agitators with an admirable opportunity, which they have not been slow to take advantage of. They went about declaring, in one public meeting after another, that the discharge of Calvignac was an attack on the right of universal suffrage, which "Capital" sought to annihilate, and that the dispute between the company and the workmen was one of the highest import, since the latter were fighting

to maintain the rights of the people as a nation. Thus, through the action of these political agitators, the strike is being organized in a way hitherto unknown in France.

There is not, however, at Carmaux an entire unanimity of the workmen in reference to the strike. A certain number of them would be only too glad to go back to work, these being naturally the miners who do not belong to the unions, and who consequently are not amenable to the same spirit of discipline nor subject in the same degree to the agitators' influence. But their good-will is powerless. The trades unions will not permit these "suspects," as they are called, to come, even indirectly, to the aid of the company, and employ every means in their power to prevent the least resumption of work whatsoever. This situation ought, it would seem, to have brought about an intervention of the public authority; for if the principle of the liberty of labor authorizes the strike, it likewise forbids the strikers to prevent others from working. But the Government throughout the whole business has shown a weakness that cannot be too strongly condemned. It is true it has arrested some individuals concerned in a riot; and, in spite of the political pleading of their barristers, among whom figured naturally a Deputy of the extreme radical section, the court condemned them. But, on the other hand, the strikers have been considered as a regularly organized power. They have been permitted to organize a special police patrolling the town, and exercising in reality a watch over the "suspects," and, in order not to discontent them, the Government has countermanded the orders issued to troops that were to be sent to Carmaux to maintain order. What is more, during the parliamentary vacation which is still unfinished, at a time when Deputies lose their privilege of exemption from arrest, and can be arrested on the spot like ordinary mortals, certain Deputies have been allowed to make speeches constituting an offence in the eye of the law, and, clad with their official sash, to interpose between strikers guilty of some offence and the police who were proceeding to arrest them.

The reason of the Government's attitude is apparent enough: it is afraid of the attacks of the ultra-radical party. It is a constant rule, at least in France, that moderate majorities always yield to the pressure exercised by ultra minorities—our parliamentary history of the last few years furnishes a long list of examples. And the Government is all the more disposed to give satisfaction to the radicals in that there is often enough a very slender line of demarcation between them. The fundamental principles are oftentimes the same in both camps; and nothing is more embarrassing for a government with little that is homogeneous in it, and obliged to rely on a fickle majority, than to see itself attacked in the name of the very principles which it invokes, and to listen to reproaches from other republicans of not being really democratic or of betraying sound republican principles.

The humiliating attitude adopted in the present case by the Ministry does not, however, seem to succeed. First of all, it is a mistake to suppose that one can ever in politics succeed in maintaining power by means of indecision. The Radicals and Socialists will never rest content, and will become all the more exacting as they meet with less resistance. On the other hand, the Ministry will probably lose a good number of its supporters. Those who are beginning to be called the conservative republicans are of opinion that this compliance

is going really too far; and the newspapers that seem as a rule the most disposed to admire the Government in everything, do not hesitate to blame its weakness. The session about to open is expected to commence its parliamentary labors with violent interpellations, and the fall of the Ministry is currently spoken of as almost certain to happen. But even if this prediction is not fulfilled, the Government will nevertheless be considerably weakened, and should it subsequently fall on some other question, most probably in the majority that will overturn it will be found Deputies who have fallen away from it in consequence of its attitude over the Carmaux affair.

Meanwhile, the situation at Carmaux remains the same. The workmen apparently are not willing to yield, and the company on its side is equally inflexible. It is to be supposed that a solution of the difficulty will ultimately be found; but even when work is resumed, there will remain more than the material loss for both shareholders and workmen—more even than a Ministry weakened or overthrown. This first strike of a purely political order will form a significant precedent that will not fail to be imitated. S.

THE FUNERAL OF RENAN.

PARIS, October 12, 1892.

WHEN I was living in the Latin Quarter, I often took long walks with a friend who had some literary ambition. He wrote afterwards a book which is well forgotten and which never had much success. I remember well, after so many years, what he said to me about Renan, who was at that time entirely unknown outside of the smallest circle of friends. I did not then know Renan myself and had never seen him; he had written nothing except a *thèse* on "Averroès et l'Averroïsme," not a very attractive subject, and this I had not read. "Renan," said my friend to me, "is the most surprising man you can imagine. Could you suppose that a few days ago he quietly unfolded to me his plan of life, in these terms: 'I am preparing a work on the history of Christianity; after the first volumes I shall be elected a member of the Institute. I prefer to enter first the Academy of Inscriptions—it is the most serious; afterwards I shall enter the French Academy. I intend also to be made a Professor at the Collège de France. For the present I am not going to meddle with politics; but later, when my reputation is made, I shall offer myself as a Deputy.'" All this was said, so I was told, in the most simple manner, with a decisiveness which did not admit of doubts or difficulties.

I have always kept this conversation in mind; it gave me the impression, which nothing has changed, that there was a very positive and practical side to the character of Renan, though, if you judge him only by his books, he appears merely an idealist. He had his way to make in the world, and he made it. I often saw him afterwards, when he became a candidate for the Academy of Inscriptions, at the house of M. Mohl, who was one of the most important members of this Academy. Renan became a member of it himself, he became a member of the French Academy; he did not become a Deputy or a Senator, and, whatever he may have said, his disappointment on this score was very great. Renan insists too much in many parts of his writings on his utter want of that practical spirit which is

a necessity in politics; there is practicality enough in the electoral circular which he addressed in May, 1869, to the electors of the second district of Seine-et-Marne. It was the year before the war; the Empire seemed strong and secure. Renan said to the electors: "No revolution! I belong to no party; my conviction is that the best revolution would be mischievous, would impede material progress. . . . I am persuaded that the regular development of the present order of things will bring France into a situation in which the country will carry out its own will through the hands of its Government, and will realize without shocks the profoundest reforms." This language does not differ from the language of all the candidates of the time, official or non-official.

Renan was not elected; he received fewer votes than two other candidates. He was surprised. He had so well fulfilled every part of his programme that he found it difficult to explain to himself why the field of politics remained shut to him. He did explain it, however, and attributed his defeat to very remote causes. In his description of Tréguier, his native place, he speaks with inimitable grace of the cathedral, of the great monastic buildings surrounding it, of the legends of the saints of Brittany.

"It was," he says, "in this place that my childhood was spent and that I contracted an indestructible tendency. This cathedral, a masterpiece of lightness, a mad attempt at the realization of an impossible ideal, distorted me first. The long hours which I spent in it have been the cause of my utter practical incapacity. This architectural paradox has made of me a chimerical man, a disciple of St. Iltud, of St. Cadoc, in a century in which the teaching of these saints can have no application."

There is a page in his 'Souvenirs d'Enfance,' the book which will probably be the longest read, where Renan, analyzing himself (and nobody was ever more given to self-inspection), finds in his character and his aspirations two different tendencies, derived from hereditary causes. On his father's side he was a complete and true Breton; on his mother's side he was a Gascon. The Gascony explains many traits, many things, which the Brittany could not explain nor approve. Renan's case is, in some senses, unique. He began life in a clerical atmosphere, being destined for the Church. He was already on the steps of the altar; he was for many years in the state of mind and of heart of a true believer. This places him quite apart from so many other writers who have attacked or merely analyzed the Christian dogma. The scientific and critical spirit met in him the Catholic spirit; his infidelity, mingling with the remains of the lost faith, defended this faith against sarcasm, contempt, or hatred; the memories of his youth remained sacred to him, and enveloped themselves in poetic associations; in short, his soul became a sort of laboratory where conflicting elements constantly met—the theatre of unknown combinations of sentiment.

I witnessed the funeral of Renan from the window of a restaurant in the Place de la Madeleine. Many people were waiting on the flight of steps of the church and on the Boulevard. When the procession approached, a waiter kindly informed me of it, as well as the other people who were taking their breakfast. Everything was done with the precision which characterizes all French ceremonies. First came two lines of policemen to clear the way; then came dragoons, with their lances and their gay little flags, red and white, moved

by the wind; heavy gendarmes, on their strong horses, with shining helmets; an old general, on a fine Arab horse, looking very careworn and disconsolate; battalions of infantry, moving with unusual slowness behind their military band, which played a funeral march. Then came the crowns of flowers—immense crowns, carried each by two or four men; the crown of the *Intransigent*, Rochefort's paper, followed by all the vendors of the *Intransigent* in their uniform; the crown of the Freemasons, the Great Orient of France; of the *Journal des Débats*, of the *Temps*, of I don't know how many societies and associations, each crown followed by a troop of people who seemed delighted at producing an effect on the bystanders. Now comes the funeral hearse, an immense catafalque, the same which was used for M. Thiers, drawn by black horses, each led by the hand. Under the immense structure, all black and white, I distinguish the green uniform of the Academician spread over the coffin; four Academicians, in that same green uniform, march by the car which carries their illustrious colleague. Now there is a movement in the crowd; there comes a fine coupé, with two beautiful horses, the coupé of the President of the Republic. The crowd admires the style of the Presidential vehicle. Then comes a crowd, somewhat disorderly, of Ministers, Senators, Deputies, Academicians, conversing with each other; among them are noticeable two or three generals in uniform, Gallifet, Saussier—"le reste ne vaut pas l'honneur d'être nommé." Great black carriages with black horses succeed; then come more soldiers, more infantry, more cavalry, more gay lances, and finally stern and gloomy batteries of artillery, with their shining silent guns, all ready for a fight.

This great pageant, I must confess, inspired me with nothing but sad feelings. This pomp of war, this theatrical show, seemed to me in bad taste. The crowd was indifferent—it knew but little of Renan. I could not remain indifferent—I had known him, and should have preferred that his funeral should not be the occasion for a sort of demonstration. I remembered that during the Second Empire, when Béranger died, who had never been a friend of the Second Empire, the imperial police surrounded his coffin and took him to his grave; afflicted, but inflexible, the police never allowed the people to break through its ranks. There was in the character of Renan, in his habits, in his domestic life, a simplicity which was not in harmony with the outpourings of official eloquence, with the pomp of state ceremonies. Nobody would have felt more keenly than he the incongruity of the military splendor of such a funeral; he would have delighted in analyzing the sentiment of some of these peasants' sons, dressed as soldiers, who followed to the grave a man who was a pure civilian, and of whom probably they had never heard before. If, hidden behind one of the columns of the Madeleine, he could, like Charles V. in his convent, have witnessed the rehearsal of his own funeral, what ironical remarks could he not have made!

M. Mohl, of whom I have spoken, and who was one of the first patrons of M. Renan, had a friend called Fauriel, the author of the 'Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale' and of the 'Histoire de la Littérature Provençale,' two very distinguished works. When M. Fauriel died, he left no family, and his funeral was at the expense of the Institute. M. Mohl, as his intimate friend and a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute, had to see to the

details of it. I remember his telling me how he negotiated with the agent of what we call the "Pompes funèbres." "The Institute wishes to give M. Fauriel a funeral suited to his importance and his character, without making an extravagant outlay." "Of course," said the agent, "you will have green Bengal lights burning in the church at the corners of the catafalque?" "Green lights!" said M. Mohl; "no, I think we will do without green lights." "But surely, you will have silver tears on the hangings?" "As for that, no; we will shed the tears ourselves."

Renan had the silver tears and the green lights, and God knows what; he had the spontaneous generation of I don't know how many speeches and newspaper articles; but it would have been more agreeable to his real friends and his real admirers if his end had had something of the poetical simplicity of his beginning.

ASSISI AND ST. FRANCIS.

ROME, October, 1892.

ST. FRANCIS of Assisi, the great unrivalled mediæval reviver of the power and vitality of the religion of Rome through the new addition to its appeals to the devotion of simple minds, in that great scheme of self-abasement and self-sacrifice which seems to have held such thrall over the Southern European races, and especially the Italian, has made his native Assisi a place of pilgrimage for six centuries. Reared on an eminence of the great central plain of Umbria, the city (chief among its buildings the great convent and double church which was the school of ascetic Christianity) is a landmark for many leagues around. Across the valley of the Tiber, which drains the underlying plain, rises on another hilltop Perugia, birthplace also of a form of worship which, like the Franciscan, still keeps, though a fading reflection, the fascination of a past phase of true human life and aspiration. The Umbrian art and the Umbrian religion are things of the past, but live in the reverence of the pilgrims who throng to both cities.

Looking from Perugia towards Assisi, we recognize the landscape so often painted by Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael—the river winding with serpentine grace at first through green and brown hills, then away through a series of mountains growing blue in fainter shades and melting into a silvery sky as they succeed each other in the distance. Those old Umbrian masters never wearied of repeating this landscape with the changes their foreground and figures demanded; and they were right, for no country is more decorative in form and color than this. Dante, also, mentions Perugia, with the mountains seen in the distance, and Assisi. In his day the fame of St. Francis was at its zenith: the monument in honor of this follower of poverty, the marvelous church, had already been completed, and the memory of the saint was cherished by a multitude of followers. To this day the principal buildings which stud the hillside and the vast plain, and even Perugia, are convents, monasteries, and churches in honor of St. Francis and of Santa Chiara. One is awakened by the sound of convent bells for matins, and for this reason the traveller who sleeps lightly need never miss the opportunity of seeing the sun rise in all its glory above the ultramarine blue hills (Subasio, in a cleft of which lies Assisi, being the principal) that form a cup round the mist-covered plain. It is in this vaporous light and amid the exquisite golden haze of sunset, like an atmosphere of

miracles, that the naïve stories told in the "Fioretti" of St. Francis by his followers seem credible.

We happened to be at Assisi while they were hanging small crystal prisms around the lights in the lower church, and were told that these preparations were being made for the Festival of St. Francis on the 4th of September. The monk who showed us about said there would be splendid music; we inquired if they would chant a mass of any of the old composers, but he answered with dignity "that they used old music on ordinary occasions, but a maestro of their own had written something new in honor of the great day." He added that this festival attracted all the peasants from the neighboring villages and towns, bringing together a great concourse of people. We were curious to see if religious feeling still remained among these Umbrian peasants, whose manners are so gentle and courteous, so we determined not to miss the festival; and in order to see all there was of fasting and feasting, we arrived in Assisi the afternoon of the 3d, the vigil of the feast.

We were too early for vespers, so we walked up to the higher church, which is still in the hands of workmen restoring the handsome sixteenth-century choir which had been removed by the orders of the Government, and which is now being put back into its former place, since public opinion so much blamed its removal. We wandered through this splendid example of polychromatic architecture, admiring the tender pathos in Giotto's rendering of the "Fioretti," and the grandeur of the conception of Cimabue's angels in the roof of the nave. We sat on the red papal throne of Assisi marble, in order to judge better of the effect of the church from this central position; then we descended to the sacristy, where the splendid vestments were being prepared. The monks were not too busy to converse with us and give us all the information we desired. Above the door hangs a Byzantine-looking picture of St. Francis by Giunta Pisano, said to be the most authentic of his portraits, having been painted only two years after his death, in 1230. The abbot allowed us to examine the rich embroideries of the chalice cloths he was choosing from, and, on being questioned about the music, answered with a sigh: "We cannot produce anything really fine nowadays, and we are too poor to give any great work of our old composers. We are but fourteen in number here. The music they write now appeals only to the senses." He shrugged his shoulders with a pathetic gesture, and continued to deplore the want of appreciation for artistic things and the corruption of taste brought in by the new régime.

We next visited the convent, which has been turned into a Government school for the sons of municipal teachers. The dormitories looked airy and scrupulously clean. There is a splendid terrace on arches where the monks used to walk, and from which there is an extensive view of the plain cut up by brown serpentine lines, the changing bed of the Tescio, a river which flows into the Tiber at Bastia when the rains permit. This Umbrian plain, bordered with mountain-tops peering one above the other, has an ineffable melancholy, a sentiment of past activity and present inertia, although it is so highly cultivated and produces corn, wine, and olives.

It was now four o'clock, time for vespers. The acolytes were lighting the tapers as we walked into the solemn gloom of the lower church. The effect of so many thousands of lights in groups round the high altar is impressive, and the frescoes were much easier to

see than by daylight. The tawdry little chandeliers looked well once lighted up. The choir was reserved for the officiating priests and the canons. The archbishop's throne, which remained vacant, was covered with cloth of gold; the monsignori and abbots sat on seats covered with tapestry; the walls below the frescoes were hung with red cloth bordered with gold braid.

The chanting began to a full accompaniment of organ and stringed instruments (the organ, by the way, was always much too loud). The bishop and accompanying prelates, after walking in procession to their places, and the six officiating priests in vestments of gold cloth, knelt before the altar. The service being fully choral, the perfect immobility of the bishop was the chief characteristic in his part of the ceremony after the changing of his mitre, which is accomplished with great form. The music was disappointingly melodramatic; had one closed one's eyes to the surroundings, one might have supposed himself at the opera, the changes and variety of movement were so similar; there seemed to be a military march, a love duet, a ballet, and the never-failing solos, for soprano, contralto, tenor, and bass. It was all commonplace and poor, having no connection either with the church or with the saint we were there to honor. The church was by no means crowded; a row of nuns sat within the priests' enclosure, and there were children and country people in the body of the church.

As we walked to our inn, the streets leading to the upper town seemed as empty as usual. Some tame rabbits came down a side lane into the paved street to nibble the cabbage stalks lying in the gutter. The children we met begged persistently, as is their wont, although many of them looked well-to-do. The women were leaning out of windows, and chatting to those drawing water at the fountains; some were watering their red carnations in the iron brackets at the side of their window. We had been wondering at the fondness for scarlet carnations among the poor of Italy, but we were told they bring good luck, which explains why they are so carefully tended. They are to be seen in almost every window, in pots or old petroleum tins. The upper town, however, was more full of movement; booths lighted with strings of colored paper lamps were being set up, with every kind of cheap toy, and already the sound of the penny trumpet was painfully prevalent. At the theatre they were giving "Esmeralda." The prima donna was staying at our hotel—a handsome young woman with a powerful form, column-like throat, and large rolling eyes, which she had strongly emphasized with a bold line of black. She dined with her elbows on the table, discoursing meanwhile in a kindly vein with the head-waiter. We remained proof against her attractions, and resisted the temptation of the theatre in order to be up early the next morning.

The church bells broke the silence of the night at three and continued to peal forth at intervals till dawn. We had promised ourselves a walk to the "Carcere" in the early morning, the sanctuary to which St. Francis used to retire to pray, and where he is said to have wrestled with the devil. The road leading to this mountain gorge is up-hill all the way, through olive orchards whose pale, bluish foliage is here and there relieved by dark green cypresses; and as one climbs he sees the stone walls of Assisi and the castle overcapping the town. The good monks who live at the sanctuary were, like ourselves, going to attend

high mass at St. Francis's Church below at ten, so we had no time to tarry. We looked into the Duomo (early twelfth century), dedicated to St. Rufinus, as we passed, to see the font at which St. Francis was baptized. It is a plain stone basin, entirely railed in with an iron grating to protect it. The streets were showing signs of life by this time; people were hurrying to the great church, dressed in their best garments; pigs roasted whole, stuffed with raisins and herbs, were being carried on long poles to conspicuous corners of the town, where they were to be cut up and sold by the pound. Along the arches leading to the church the omnibuses were drawn up after discharging a horde of visitors from neighboring towns. We were everywhere assailed by the inevitable beggars, who make capital by displaying their deformities at every festa. "For the love of the blessed St. Francis, give me a soldo, and I will pray daily for you." The venders of melon seeds, rosaries, and little medals were also clamorous. We found the church already crowded with people, for the poorer portion of the community, wishing to see and to hear all, had climbed up the little flights of stairs to the galleries and had gathered as near to the high altar as the railing permitted. There were children's schools brought from far and near. The peasant women wore yellow or orange handkerchiefs for the most part. We saw many extremely handsome faces with black eyes; one or two among them were of a singularly beautiful Etruscan type, like figures from an ancient vase.

The innumerable tapers being lighted, the chanting began, and the bishop, in most splendid vestments, attended by his cortège of monsignori and priests, went in procession round the church before officiating at the high altar, where the usual ceremonies of high mass were gone through, with all the pomp and form which are so imposing. As a spectacle this mass was singularly telling. The bright cold daylight, coming through the jewel-colored glass of the stained windows, blended with the warm yellow light of thousands of small wax tapers, and the clouds of incense produced a haze above the living figures in the comparative shadow below, while it lighted up the frescoes on the vault and showed them brighter and clearer than they are ever seen by simple daylight. This effect was concentrated round the high altar, where the most tapers were, while around through the chapels in the aisles a crowd of people was circulating—people come to see the show, greeting their acquaintances, whispering, staring right and left in search of friends, sometimes repeating a prayer at a side altar, but paying but little attention to the mass. The music was of the same popular, melodramatic quality as that of the night before, reminding one of the old Italian operas which since Wagner's time have fallen into discredit. Only at Assisi could this kind of music be produced as novel or composed for any special occasion.

A double flight of steps leads to a crypt beneath the lower church, in which the body of the saint was found early in this century. A priest was holding a silent mass in the underground chapel, in which only snatches of the music could be heard. Here we found people prostrate in fervent prayer, absolutely unconscious of any lookers-on. These few alone seemed to show any religious fervor.

At mid-day the mass was over, so we gladly repaired to our inn. We were amused at the incongruous mixture of guests round the same table—actresses, priests, artists, distinguished foreigners, and a sprinkling of titled folk from

their country-seats, all good-humoredly eating and drinking together and joining in general conversation; only the priest, seated by the fascinating actress, persisted in keeping his eyes on his breviary when not occupied in eating.

The fair on the piazza was now at its height. The lamp-posts were decorated with little tri-color flags, and the booths extended down one street, though the objects sold were very similar and extremely limited as to choice. Penny toys, sweets, bad English cutlery made expressly for the foreign market, Venetian glass beads, chaplets, bright-colored handkerchiefs, felt hats, with cheap stuffs from Switzerland and tawdry silver ornaments, formed the staple of the show, from which the visitors chose remembrances to take away and exchanged presents with their friends.

At St. Francis's Church there was another full service for vespers, and between eight and nine the little paper lamps were lighted all over the town for the illumination; a few fireworks were also sent up from the piazza; but after nine all was quiet at Assisi, and the festa was considered a success. S.S.

Correspondence.

STATE BANK CURRENCY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With all my respect for M. D. Harter as a man of sound financial views, I cannot assent to his position that the prohibitory tax on State issues of paper money can be repealed without bringing in many of the evils of the wild-cat currency before the war. Mr. Harter seems to think that if there is a large amount of good paper money in circulation, such as greenbacks, national bank-notes, and other notes fully secured and readily convertible, no other and weaker currency could be floated alongside of it. This is an erroneous view, and just the opposite of what is known as Gresham's law. The experience of our own country tells a different story. The paper money of New York and New England was always at par, yet many people in the South and West had to take in payment, and took in payment every day, notes depreciated from one to five per cent.

I am fully aware that banks will not receive any currency that is not legal tender and is less valuable than the best, unless at a discount; I am also aware that wholesale dealers, railroad officials, and tax-receivers will refuse any currency which the banks in their neighborhood do not receive on deposit at par; but it does not follow hence that the inferior currency cannot be floated. It will be taken—whether gladly or reluctantly, is indifferent for my purpose—by workingmen and workingwomen, when it is offered to them for their wages; the grocer and the saloon-keeper will accept it from them, reimbursing themselves fully for their loss by scant measure or a lower grade of goods. In fact, the men and women who toil and who can least afford to lose, will be the heaviest, probably the only losers, and the so-called bankers who issue the stuff the only gainers.

I can give you a little story by way of illustration. In the winter of 1879-80, when silver had become sufficiently depreciated to make the Mexican dollar worth about 88 cents in American gold, and thus considerably less than the "dollar of the daddies" to which people were accustomed, a couple of bankers in a

Kentucky town went into the speculation of importing a large lot of Mexican dollars, which they sold at a profit, but still at a discount, to a number of heavy employers of labor, who paid them out in wages at par. The workmen paid these dollars out for a week or less without loss, the retailers and saloon-men being glad to get the shining disks, which were slightly heavier than the legal-tender dollars. But when these retailers and saloon men came to deposit the Mexicanos in bank, even in a bank the president of which had imported the deceitful stuff himself, they were thrown out, and, as the news gradually spread over town, these dollars became uncurrent, and every poor workman on whom they were palmed off lost ten or twelve cents on every dollar that he still held.

The same result will always follow from a mixed currency: business men will protect themselves, the toilers will be fleeced. I agree with Mr. Harter and Mr. Sherman that the national-bank currency must soon come to an end, as the people are unwilling to keep a national debt outstanding for the purpose of making the bonds a basis of good paper money; but it does not follow that State paper issues should again be allowed, unless it can be done under such a national guarantee as will prevent the floating of any currency which is liable to even the slightest discount.

Respectfully, LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.
LOUISVILLE, KY., October 20, 1892.

THE TARIFF ON TOBACCO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A bright and well-informed correspondent of the *Tobacco Leaf* (issue of October 19, p. 9), writes from Cleveland, O.:

"Tariff-prophet McKinley has been in receipt of many letters addressed to him by tobacco men in regard to the tobacco schedule. It is hinted that the Governor has promised, black on white, that the grievance would be looked into and remedied, provided his petitioners would be instrumental in helping the Republican cause of the nation in November. McKinley has been credited with veracity and honesty, and in the foregoing furnishes us with a direct means to find him out."

The way in which the Ohio tobacco-growers are to test McKinley's "veracity and honesty" is interesting. Bribery and corruption seem to taint every phase of protective-tariff politics.

Curiously, in the same paper is given an interview with one of the largest tobacco-dealers in New York, pointing out how the enormous duty of \$2.00 per pound on imported wrappers has hurt American growers, owing to a striking peculiarity of the trade: "Cigars must be sold at the same price and have the same external appearance—that is, have *Sumatra* wrappers." Hence, the cigar-maker must save on his filler—that is, buy the domestic article cheaper.

T. B. B.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., October 21, 1892.

UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTION IN JOURNALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have only just now seen the thoughtful article devoted, in the *Nation* for October 6, to the consideration of what is proposed in the way of educational undertaking in the University of Chicago. I beg, on my own part, as member of the faculty of instruction, to thank you for the friendly freedom of your critical suggestions, both those that approve and those that doubt or even censure.

As to the one point of what is said about the course offered in "journalism," let me explain that no one feels more strongly than does the instructor immediately concerned, that such a course, considered as supposed to be adequate, would well deserve to be pronounced "delusive." But assuredly one might fairly hope to make in a good degree profitable instruction that should go no farther than, for instance, to put into just and effective comparison the very different ideals and standards of journalism represented respectively by two such dailies as the *World*, on the one hand, and the *New York Times* on the other; and, again, to put into like comparison the different types of journalism prevailing in the United States, on the one hand, and in Great Britain on the other. If the influence of the instructor should be decisively given in favor of what the *Nation* itself, with all other competent judges, would say was the better standard and ideal, would not something substantial have been gained? And if students should, besides, have practice in writing editorial articles and paragraphs on current topics, perhaps also in "reporting," under criticism carefully directed to make the product good in substance, in spirit, and in form, might not even a few weeks of such discipline be at least something better than nothing at all? In the end, there might be created a demand, which would be responded to here, for university education in journalism more like what the *Nation*, with the writer hereof, would regard as satisfactory.

WILLIAM C. WILKINSON.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, October 14, 1892.

THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I cannot see that the point raised by your correspondent "C." in the *Nation* of October 20 affects my statement, in *Scribner's Magazine*, as to the influence of the weather on July 4, 1776. The myth that the great heat forced the members to agree to the adoption of the Declaration, which I supposed I had ended, can hardly be revived by claiming that the signing did not take place on July 4, but on August 2. The adoption was disputed, and so the weather might have formed an element in affecting the disputing members. The signing was never disputed, and indeed was mandatory. The heat of August 2, therefore, could not affect the Declaration of Independence, for it was already an accomplished fact.

As to the question whether the Declaration was not signed on July 4, we are hardly in a position to say positively, the most recent evidence tending to prove that there was a formal signing of a copy on that day. Certainly, if it was not signed on that day, it is to be questioned if there ever was such a formal signing. It is true that the "engrossed copy," according to the Journal of Congress, was signed on August 2, but the Journal is untrustworthy, and would have been apparently more accurate if it had stated that it was ordered signed. The truth is, that less than half of the fifty-six men whose names are attached to it were in Congress on that day, most of them, in fact, being in their own colonies. To give the proof of this in full would be too long, but a sample delegation—the Virginian—will illustrate it sufficiently. As inscribed on the engrossed copy, they stand thus: Wythe, R. H. Lee, Jefferson, Harrison, Nelson, F. L. Lee, Braxton. Of these, only Harrison was in Philadelphia on August 2, Jefferson being absent from the city for two days. Thus,

as a curious bit of contradiction, the only Virginian delegate who could have signed the Declaration on August 2 was Harrison, who had opposed its adoption. On August 20 R. H. Lee arrived from Virginia, and was followed on September 3 by Nelson, and by F. L. Lee on September 7, while Wythe did not attend till well into the next year. The most curious case is Braxton's, who had left Philadelphia on July 22, 1776, and, not being reelected, never returned to the Congress as a delegate. Yet he signed the Declaration, and was, so far as I know, the only man not a member of Congress who did so. It must, of course, have been done on some subsequent visit to Philadelphia. In short, the signing of the engrossed copy of the Declaration must have been a desultory affair, done by each member at his convenience, and in one case not inscribed till 1781.

Thus "C." will find that historic statements are ever subject to revision, as the investigation of history grows broader and deeper; and that even incidents hitherto not "disputed," and of which there can be "no doubt," may prove as mythical as the temperature of our nation's birthday.

PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

CENTURY CLUB, NEW YORK.

Notes.

A NEW work on the 'Local Indian Names of New York,' with names from other States, by the Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, will shortly follow his 'Iroquois Trail,' It will be published at Fayetteville, N. Y., by Howard C. Beauchamp.

The Cambridge (Eng.) University Press will issue during the present season, among other works, 'The Growth of British Policy,' by Prof. J. R. Seeley; 'The Science of International Law,' by Thomas Alfred Walker; 'Ancient Ships,' by Cecil Torr; 'The New History,' a circumstantial account of the Babi movement in Persia, from its first beginnings to the death of its founder (A.D. 1844-1850), by Edward G. Browne; the fifth volume of the 'Collected Mathematical Papers of Arthur Cayley,' to be completed in ten volumes; and the second volume of the late I. Todhunter's 'History of the Theory of Elasticity and of the Strength of Materials,' edited and completed by Prof. Karl Pearson.

Longmans, Green & Co.'s fall publications will include 'Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History,' by Sir Henry Parkes, Prime Minister of New South Wales 1872-5, 1877, 1878-9; 'Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews,' being the second volume of reminiscences by Dr. Boyd (the "Country Parson"); 'A Selection from the Letters of Geraldine Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle,' edited by Mrs. Alexander Ireland; 'The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland,' an account of excavations and explorations 1891-2, by J. Theodore Bent; 'St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity,' from the French of the Abbé Constant Foudard, by G. F. X. Griffith; 'Letters to Young Shooters,' by Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey; 'The Formation of the Union, 1750-1829,' by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart; and 'Longmans' Object Lessons,' by David Salmon.

The second part of the second volume of the late Prof. Bernhard Ten Brink's 'Geschichte der Englischen Literatur' (Strassburg: Trübner) has just appeared, and comes down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The work will be completed in two additional volumes by the author's successor at the University of Strassburg, Prof. A. Brandl, who will use Ten

Brink's posthumous papers and treat the subject in the same general spirit.

Dr. Wilhelm Busch, a pupil of Maurenbrecher and professor in Leipzig, has published the first volume of 'England under the Tudors' (Stuttgart: Cotta), which is devoted to the reign of Henry VII., and traces the gradual growth of absolutism, culminating in Cardinal Wolsey's arbitrary rule under Henry VIII. The work is to be completed in six volumes and to conclude with the death of Elizabeth.

All published accounts of the character and contents of Ibsen's forthcoming drama are mere conjectures. The poet is exceedingly reserved in ordinary social intercourse, and almost morbidly reticent and absolutely interviewer-proof as regards his literary plans. The betrothal of his son, Dr. Sigurd Ibsen, to Miss Bergliot Björnson is an event invested with a certain literary interest on account of the well-known antagonism existing between the fathers of the youthful pair in their views of poetry and politics. The antagonism, however, is a disagreement in opinion, and has never degenerated into personal animosity. Björnson has a strong liking for young Ibsen, who sympathizes with his prospective father-in-law's political aims, while Ibsen shows a marked fondness for his son's attractive and highly intelligent bride.

The *Bookman* states that one of the illustrations in the new edition of Green's 'Shorter History of England' will be a portrait of Oliver Cromwell's mother, photographed from a picture in the possession of a direct descendant which was discovered by the historian himself in a country house. This October number of the *Bookman*, by the way, is itself noticeable for the portraits it gives—of Prof. Henry Drummond, of Emily Augusta Patmore, and of Mrs. W. K. Clifford. Mrs. Patmore's face would seem to have had a certain resemblance to George Eliot's, of which writer some unpublished letters are given in the same number. They belong to the period 1838-1850, and show a marked change in religious sentiment of Miss Evans, who begins with scruples against oratorio, and doubts if it be "consistent with millennial holiness for a human being to devote the time and energies that are barely sufficient for real exigencies to acquiring expertness in trills, cadences, etc." Her correspondent was a Miss Martha Jackson (now Mrs. Henry Barclay). The anonymous contributor to the *Bookman* of so many good papers about Carlyle now opens up several chapters on George Henry Lewes which promise to be not less piquant.

An important quarto volume, of 414 pages and 12 plates, by Capt. Charles Bendire, entitled 'Life Histories of North American Birds, with Special Reference to their Breeding Habits and Eggs,' is published by the Smithsonian Institution as Special Bulletin No. 1 of the United States National Museum. It deals with the gallinaceous birds (Grouse, Partridges, etc.), Tetraonidae, Phasianidae, and Cracidae; the Pigeons or Doves, Columbidae; and the birds of prey (Vultures, Falcons, Hawks, Eagles, and Owls), Cathartidae, Falconidae, Strigidae, and Bubonidae. The plates contain 185 beautifully colored figures of eggs, illustrating those of nearly two-thirds of the birds mentioned in the list. The title describes the contents of the book very well. Descriptions of nests, eggs, and habits and the geographical distribution are given, but detailed descriptions of the birds are not attempted. Only sufficient synonymy is introduced to fix the authorities directly responsible for the name adopted. From the nature of the case, the histories are the product of numerous de-

tached observations, frequently by a number of different observers. The work is admirably done, and the author is to be congratulated upon having produced a standard work of so much excellence. In most cases of conflicting authorities his judgment is satisfactory; an occasional item still needs verification. Among the remarks on the burrowing owl (*Speotyto hypogaea*) the following occurs: "Frequently when within a foot or two of the nest proper, and before it was yet visible, the occupant made a rattling noise, produced by the rapid movement of its mandibles, which sounded very much like the warning of the rattlesnake when disturbed. This would easily impose on the average investigator, and, proceeding out of the burrow, somewhat muffled and subdued, is very similar indeed to the rattle of the latter." Others, who have kept the young owls in camp, are equally positive that the sound is a scream, and not a rattling of the beak.

The third edition of 'Berghaus' Physikalischer Atlas' (Gotha: Justus Perthes), of which the first sheets were printed in 1886, is just out. It comprises seventy-five maps in seven divisions, containing in all 514 graphical representations of the latest results of scientific research in geology, hydrography, meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, the distribution of plants and animals, and ethnology. The first edition of this work was prepared by Heinrich Berghaus and printed in 1836. The present one was edited by his nephew, Prof. Hermann Berghaus, who died December 3, 1890, and therefore did not live to see its completion. The price of this magnificent volume is eighty-two marks (\$20).

The extent and variety of the recent French contributions to geographical science are very well shown in the last Bulletin of the Société de Géographie. It opens with a brief description of the work of the recipients of the nine annual prizes awarded by the Society, among whom M. Élisée Reclus stands first with the "grande médaille d'or." This was given in consideration of the completion of his monumental work, the 'Nouvelle Géographie Universelle,' of which the publication began in 1875 and was continued in parts that appeared "with absolute punctuality during 900 weeks." Prince Albert of Monaco also received a gold medal for his researches during the past nineteen years into the direction and strength of the ocean currents, and the depth and temperature of the sea, as well as into the marine fauna in general. The result of these investigations since 1885 is now in course of publication. The other medallists were men who had made extensive explorations, often years in duration, in Indo-China, Persia, Guiana, Equatorial Africa, and Egypt. The Society very appropriately awarded a special gold medal to M. Ch. Maunoir, to commemorate the completion of his twenty-fifth year's service as its Secretary. It was also announced that his annual reviews of the progress of geography, accompanied by maps and an index, would be republished, forming a work in three large volumes. Among the papers in the Bulletin is one upon the temperature of the Arctic regions, illustrated by a map with the isothermal lines for July, 1882, and January, 1883, and an interesting account of a recent exploration of the Ivory Coast. In the latter the writer dwells strongly upon the evil effects upon the natives of alcoholic liquors sold them by the English merchants who have the monopoly of the trade upon this coast.

The poverty and destitution prevalent among the Europeans and Eurasians of Calcutta has at length become the subject of a Government

investigation. From the minute of Sir Charles Elliot, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, it appears that nearly one-sixth of the Europeans and one-fourth of the Eurasians are dependent upon charity, and their number is increasing with each generation. This condition, which, he says, can scarcely be paralleled in any other community in the world, is attributed, apart from climatic causes, to the competition of Bengalis for the subordinate posts in the public service and in the mercantile offices, once filled wholly by the Indo-European community, to the maladministration of charitable relief, and to early and improvident marriages. What renders the problem more difficult to solve is that, as a class, a large proportion prefer to depend on charity rather than on their own exertions; the spirit of self-help is rapidly dying out. The Government is able to suggest no real remedy for this pathetic and dangerous state of things. It has apparently exhausted every effort to secure education and employment for the children of European parents without checking the evil. In the Sibpur Engineering College, for example, where, at a cost of \$18 a year, there is given "a training fitting an apprentice to become a foreman mechanic," there are a large number of vacancies in what may be termed the Government scholarships. The fall in the value of the rupee, too, tends to intensify the evil, since many parents are now unable to send their children to England to be educated; and apparently to bring them up in India is practically to condemn them to "the submerged Fifth."

The whole of No. 63 of Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute (Annapolis, Md.) is given up to six illustrated lectures on "First Aid to the Wounded and Transportation of the Wounded," by Surgeon H. G. Beyer. It forms a useful physiological summary even for the general reader.

The October Bulletin of the Boston Public Library is distinguished by several interesting facsimiles of Revolutionary broadsides of the years 1773-1775, and by a list of the Columbiana in the Library, where a rare Columbian exhibition is in progress.

Prof. E. Lattes, the well-known archaeologist of Milan, reviews in the *Perseveranza* of October 5 Prof. J. Krall's memoir on the inscribed Etruscan mummy-bands in the Agram National Museum, just published with illustrations by the Vienna Academy of Sciences. Prof. Lattes will make a report on the same subject before the Royal Lombard Institute on November 10. He considers the inscriptions to be especially concerned with funeral rites, and to be comparable to the *acta* of the ancient priestly body of Fratres Arvales. He enumerates the probable gains to the scanty Etrurian vocabulary, particularly in the numerals. He concludes that while in some aspects the language is clearly next of kin to that of Latium, and in others hardly recalls any known tongue the world over, the problem is no greater or more hopeless than would arise in the study of any of the Italian dialects under like circumstances. It seems reasonable to expect that Egypt will still further enlarge our material.

In our recent article on "English at Harvard, and Elsewhere," we said, referring to the recent report of the Committee to visit the department of Composition and Rhetoric of Harvard College, that the report, which was calculated "to raise a blush on the cheek of every principal who reads it," "ought to make its way to every Normal School, as well as to the academies." The Committee by whom the report was prepared now request us to say

that copies of it can be obtained on application, by postal card; or otherwise, to Allen Danforth, at the office of the University, No. 50 State Street, Boston.

—Prof. Luigi Cossa contributes to the May number of the *Giornale degli Economisti* a discriminating review of the history of Political Economy in the United States. His classification and some of his comments possess especial interest as coming from a friendly as well as learned critic, who has given more attention to the work of Americans than any other European scholar. He remarks that the rapid evolution in the United States of a wonderfully varied economic life might have been expected to promote similar progress in economic research. Excellent monographs, historical and critical, and very instructive to the European student, have been produced, yet for various reasons the progress of the science has not kept pace with the increase of wealth. The special conditions prevailing in the United States seemed to impair the universal validity of the economic laws proclaimed by the classical school. Over-population, the law of diminishing returns, the theory of rent, and pauperism, the majority did not believe in; others thought them possible but of no practical importance. On the other hand, the questions of slavery, banking, currency, and taxation produced an abundance of writing which was of little scientific value, because economic reasons were steadily subordinated to the aims of political parties. Yet some statesmen, like Hamilton and Sherman, are to be excepted; and to Government officials, like Gallatin and Wells, we are indebted for important works on special questions.

—American economists are roughly classified into four schools. Of the National school, Franklin and Hamilton are the leading names; of the lesser writers, Cossa notes that Colwell's 'Ways and Means of Payment' is marked by subtle and accurate analysis. The second school are the Optimists, who took the attitude of opposition or incredulity towards the doctrines of the Classical school. They have been divided on the question of free or restricted trade. Such of them as have favored restriction are also known as the Pennsylvania school. Carey, their leader, was a writer with convictions, ingenious and in part original, but ignorant of scientific methods. His 'Unity of Law' abounds in errors in physics. Of the Optimists who have supported free trade, Perry, who combines the doctrines of Bastiat and Macleod, is conspicuous. The third, or Classical school, became prominent about the middle of the century, and particularly after the war had disposed of some of the older questions. Walker, Dunbar, and Sumner are its best known representatives. Henry George is considered by himself. 'Progress and Poverty' is full of strange contradictions, errors of fact, and fallacious reasoning, which reveal on every page the lack of scientific training. The brilliant success of the book, in spite of these blemishes, is explained by its sincerity, vivid descriptions, and its lively and picturesque style. The last ten years have seen a marked increase in the amount and quality of work in economics, and the rise of a body of able writers who in intellectual grasp, learning, and industry rival the best European scientists. So many of the younger men have been trained in Germany that a German-American school may be recognized. The division of this school into two distinct sections is noticed. One party, led by Ely, relies upon induction and histori-

cal and statistical research, and discards the study of pure theory as antiquated. The other party is devoting itself with more originality to the pure science. Patten is the most original of this group, but his defence of protectionism is specious. The effect of the polemical writing of the German school and the criticism it has received from older and more independent writers who follow the German methods less blindly, has been stimulating to all workers in the field.

—In a circular letter "agli amici della verità," Signor T. Cassini, an Italian Dante scholar well known for his full and accurate scholarship, informs us of the charges of plagiarism which Dr. Scartazzini brings against Cassini's commentary on the 'Divine Comedy' (Florence, 1888-91) with regard to his own larger and more widely known commentary (Leipzig, 1874-82). He accuses Cassini, first, of using his explanatory citations from the Bible, the early fathers, and especially Thomas Aquinas; second, of appropriating his references to parallel passages in classical authors; third, of reprinting in his notes the extracts which Scartazzini had already made from the older commentators; fourth, of following him closely in the history of certain doubtful points of interpretation; fifth, of following without acknowledgment the text used in his commentary. To these charges Cassini replies in a dignified and wholly satisfactory manner. First, the Biblical, patristic, and theological citations were either the common property of all commentators, from Della Lana down, or were obtained from the usual concordances, indexes, and other repertoires. Second, the comparisons between Dante and the classical writers are likewise matters of common property, having long ago been definitely ascertained. Third and fourth, as Scartazzini's plan was to quote as fully as possible all the chief commentaries, Cassini could not help duplicating him in part; he had, however, always done this by direct reference to the originals, thereby avoiding numerous errors which occur in Scartazzini's quotations. Fifth, the text belonged to neither of them, but was that of Witte, which each had only slightly modified. In commenting a few months ago on Scartazzini's 'Dante Handbuch,' we noticed with pleasure his change of tone towards Witte, of whom he had formerly written with unnecessary severity, and hoped—in vain, it seems—the years were bringing him a calmer judgment. No one can see without regret such foolish jealousy against his brother scholars of one to whose persevering industry we owe perhaps the best existing commentary on the 'Divine Comedy.'

—No one of the many recent books about bookbinding is more sumptuous than the illustrated catalogue of the exhibition held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London a year ago. The catalogue has been revised since the exhibition closed, and it is now issued in a stately folio with two prefaces, one on stamped bindings by Mr. E. Gordon Duff, and one on gold-tooled bindings by Miss Prideaux, and with more than a hundred chromolithographic reproductions of book covers. Fine as have been certain of the bibliopegistic exhibitions held in New York, this one in London was richer, as it drew from more and from older collections, and it was well worthy of this noble memorial. The stamped bindings, by which the British set great store, are of interest historically rather than artistically. Indeed, a splendid collection like this emphasizes the decorative indigence of the English. The

really artistic designs are seen at once to be due to some Italian or to some Frenchman. Most of the attempts at originality on which the British binders ventured now and again are pitiful. Exception must be made in behalf of the remarkable workman who is responsible for half-a-dozen of the bindings here reproduced; his name is unknown, but his handiwork is unmistakable; his chief peculiarity is the use of a curiously shaped tool not unlike the outline of a bent sausage. He is not equal to the good French binders of the period, but he shows a sense of design very rare in England at the time. Among the six-score bindings reproduced in this catalogue are half-a-dozen from the Grolier collection, and no year passes that one or more are not engraved for some sale catalogue. Has not the time come now for some book-lover to reprint M. Leroux de Linçy's list of the surviving books known to have been in Grolier's collection, making all possible additions, and appending to each number a note stating where and how often this binding has been reproduced? Probably three-quarters of the books known to have belonged to Grolier have had their covers reproduced, either in color or in black-and-white; and it will interest all who love the masterpieces of this art to have such a guide to the collection of one of the greatest of book-lovers. Here is a pleasant task for one of the members of the Grolier Club of this city, which has already done so much for the bookmaking arts.

PAYNE'S NEW WORLD.

History of the New World Called America.
By Edward John Payne. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1892. 8vo, pp. xxviii, 546.

MR. PAYNE, having sailed westward some years since, as supercargo on certain 'Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen,' returns, in these anniversary days, with nothing less in hand than a several-volumed history of America, the first instalment of which lies before us. No such ambitious work upon this country has appeared in Great Britain since Robertson. Indeed, Mr. Payne distinctly reminds us of his great predecessor in the conception of his task, though not in the execution. Dr. Robertson was familiar with the latest available research. Mr. Payne is oblivious of the recent literature of his subject. Apparently he ceased to read on the historical side many years ago, and has since devoted himself exclusively to elaborating his theory of aboriginal culture.

Mr. Payne is a mild disciple of Buckle. His faith in the logic of events is so strong as sometimes to give the impression that he could just as well have written much of the story in advance of its occurrence. Noting three physical pathways of westerly discovery, the arctic and equatorial currents and the trade winds, he assigns the Northmen to the first, the Portuguese to the second, and Columbus to the third. He develops the causes that led to these voyages from the earliest conception of the sphericity of the earth. Nowhere is there a better account of the geographical ideas of the Greeks and Romans, and their effect in moulding mediæval thought and action. Nowhere is the continuity of belief in these conceptions so well brought out. We begin to hope that the child of the next generation will not think that Columbus first discovered that the earth was round. Admirable, too, is the author's bearing toward those who in times past have in good faith held erroneous beliefs; there is a grateful lack of that asper-

ity of judgment which occasionally disfigures otherwise good work.

The purely historical narrative is not so satisfactory. We do not complain that all the writers consulted are not referred to—an author may properly decline to smother his text in notes; but we do complain that Mr. Payne, after adopting opinions which now pass for antiquated or rebutted, should so write as to seem ignorant of opposing evidence. He has either failed to read all that he should have read, or has ignored authorities whose dicta he does not accept. He has assumed ignorance if he has it not. That this is a charitable statement is easily shown. The account of the Norse discoveries is drawn chiefly from Rafn, whose identifications of localities are accepted with but one reference to another view, and that misleading. It is, of course, not true that the only alternative places Leif's houses in Greenland, and one must stare at the statement. Between Narragansett Bay, Charles River, Nova Scotia, etc., a man may have a preference, if he will not reject them all; but the evidence will not justify him in excluding all but one from mention. The "Old Mill" is said to be "not devoid of resemblance to buildings left by the Northmen in Greenland" (p. 77). True: both are built of stone. Has Mr. Payne not read Palfrey on the mill at Chesterton, to which that at Newport is still less devoid of resemblance?

Mr. Payne adopts Peschel's date of the birth of Columbus, 1456 (p. 108), and dwells on the youthfulness of the discoverer. He quotes, besides the older writers and Peschel, Muñoz, Navarrete, Humboldt, and D'Avezac. Not a word of recent Italian investigations, nor of HARRISSE's skilful demonstration that Columbus attained his twenty-fifth year in 1471-1472. In 1501 Columbus wrote that he had been a seaman for forty years, and had gone to sea at a very early age. "Even taken literally," says Mr. Payne, "this tallies with the date 1456." It does indeed. $1501-40=1461$; $1461-1456=5$! In what capacity does Mr. Payne think that Columbus first went to sea? Since the declaration of October 30, 1470, was printed by Staglieno, it is self-stultification to accept a date later than 1451 without formally disproving the identity of our Columbus with the Christopher of this and the other notarial acts.

In regard to the character of Columbus, Mr. Payne ranks with the critics, not with the eulogists. He would sit on the right of Mr. Winsor, but on Mr. Fiske's left. Columbus, in his view, was an excellent seaman, and should have stuck to his trade. His estimate of Vesputius is unfavorable—more unfavorable, apparently, than he cares to say. While Varnhagen's argument in favor of Mariguana as the island of the landfall is accepted, his life-work on behalf of Vesputius is not recognized even in allusion. Upon the Cabots the author is not clear. Sebastian is disposed of as untrustworthy in a footnote of four lines, and the two voyages of John, who is somehow got to winter in Iceland, are apparently jumbled into one. No reference is made to Biddle, Deane, or HARRISSE. It is characteristic that Mr. Payne, who is disdainful of American historians, accepts Sir John Mandeville as a veritable personage, and asserts the discovery of Punic coins in the Azores upon an unsupported statement of Chateaubriand.

Mr. Payne breathes freer air in the fields of physical geography and ethnology. He is good at generalities, and his second book is his best. While he derives the Indians from Asiatic Mongols, he believes their development upon this continent to have proceeded without for-

eign influence. After outlining the physical features of the country, he indicates the effect of these factors upon the fortunes of the various European settlements, and so comes finally to the main subject, the effect of the same factors upon the original inhabitants. He applies here a theory of human advancement which he thinks has not been previously enunciated: The grade of culture attained by a tribe is determined by the relation of that tribe to the food-supply. Subsistence is imperative upon all men, and the greatest change that ever occurred in human society was the substitution of an artificial for a natural basis of subsistence.

"Where such a change has not only been accomplished, but, owing to favorable circumstances, has completely wrought out the ultimate effects which it is capable of producing, the condition which results is called Civilization. Where an artificial basis of subsistence has been established, but the production of these ultimate effects is checked by unfavorable circumstances, the resulting condition, in default of a better name, is called Barbarism. Where society still rests on a natural basis of subsistence, the social state is called Savagery" (p. 276).

This thought is developed at length with much ingenuity; the results of the demand for food and for clothing are differentiated, the importance of a permanent food-surplus is indicated, and the contributions of the animal and vegetable kingdom to human advancement are analyzed. The flora and fauna of America are reviewed from this standpoint, and it is shown how, the pastoral stage being excluded, a large portion of the inhabitants were condemned to savagery or low forms of barbarism associated with migratory agriculture. Especially noteworthy are the remarks upon the effect of the want of milch animals in keeping down the increase of population, and consequently hindering rather than helping progress to stationary agriculture (p. 289). A few communities, however, upon the basis of artificial cultivation of maize, manioc, potato, and the llama, reached a culture just below civilization in Mexico, Central America, New Grenada, and Peru. Mr. Payne, by the way, promises to show in the next volume that the culture of Peru was lower than that of Mexico, and that Peruvian "state-socialism" is but a misnomer for despotic exaction of common labor. What else, we wonder, would state-socialism be anywhere?

The remainder of the volume is devoted to tracing out in these communities the ultimate effects of an agricultural basis of subsistence in social organization, art, and religion. There are some indications of apparent overlooking of recent research, and especially of recent American research, in this well-written and valuable chapter. Not to speak of the "Turaniens," who are said to have once divided the Old World with the negro race, and who, with "Toltees" and "Chichimecs," we had supposed to be as much out of place in modern ethnology as the first "r" in Tartar, we find Mr. Payne combating the theory of a mound-builder civilization by the aid of Schoolcraft and Waitz, apparently oblivious of all that has been done in the field by the American Bureau of Ethnology and the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, in the last few years, and ignorant of what has been learned by the labors of Abbot, Wright, and others, about primitive man, and the glacial and interglacial periods—matters not without effect upon that theory of Asiatic origin of the Indians to which he adheres. Nor is this all. Had Mr. Payne been in the habit of reading American books, he might have seen Ward's 'Dynamic Sociology'; had he seen it, he would not, we

are sure, have expressed himself quite so unservedly upon the originality of his theory of civilization. For Mr. Ward, in his sections upon the origin of society, the production of food, the origin of acquisition, etc., has wrought in the same line as Mr. Payne, and established the same principles.

It is quite possible, however, for an historian to be unfamiliar with the literature in some portions of his subject, and yet have vision to see the true significance of facts, and skill to describe suggestively the operation of the great forces that weave the web of human fortunes. Mr. Payne's book will in parts repay perusal, but the reader must bear in mind that theory sometimes takes precedence of impartial research, and that what is magisterially asserted may none the less belong in the lumber-room of history.

Before closing we must quote a most remarkable instance of what has been called the depolarization of the Scriptures. Behold a new version of the story of the Fall! The italics are ours:

"The familiar Biblical narrative . . . furnishes us with a vivid picture of the fruit-eating savage. Naked, shameless, and fearful, feeble in force, and languid in desire, *largely dependent in the food-quest*, which principally occupied him, *on the industry of his female companion*, incapable of self-control, because moral restraint was necessarily unknown to a creature whose only guide in life was the food-taboo, though the penalty for the breach of this was death, he grovelled in superstition, heard the voice of the dreaded gods in every wind, and attributed to the sleek, well-nourished, and fatally armed serpent a higher degree of intelligence than he possessed himself" (p. 308).

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

The Glasgow Stage. By Walter Baynham. Glasgow: Robert Forrester.

Shadows of the Stage. By William Winter. Macmillan & Co.

How to Write a Good Play. By Frank Archer. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co.

Une Comédienne au XIX^e Siècle: Virginie Déjazet. Étude biographique et critique d'après des documents inédits. Par Henry Lecomte. Paris: Léon Sapin; New York: F. W. Christern.

Victorien Sardou: Poet, Author, and Member of the French Academy. A Personal Study. By Blanche Roosevelt. Preface by W. Beatty-Kingston. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Few books are more useful in their way, humble as it is, than are the volumes of theatrical annals devoted to a single theatre—like the history of the Opéra-Comique, recently published in Paris—or to the theatres of a single town. The theatrical history of a city is as laborious a task and as thankless as a county history; and, when well done, it is as worthy of reward. Perhaps we may consider Dr. Doran's 'Their Majesties' Servants' as the earliest local theatrical history of this sort; but Mr. Clapp's 'Records of the Boston Stage' was almost contemporaneous with the annals of the London theatres. Then came Mr. Ireland's invaluable history of the New York stage, unfortunately not extended beyond 1860; and that was followed by Mr. Blake's volume on the Providence stage and by Mr. Phelps's on the Albany theatres. Only a year or two ago Mr. Dibdin gave us the annals of the Edinburgh theatre, and now Mr. Baynham has attempted a history of the drama in Glasgow. Mr. Baynham is an actor himself, and he

writes part of his story from his personal knowledge. His inexperience as an author is evident enough. In Glasgow, as in Edinburgh, the most popular plays for half a century were dramatizations of the Waverley novels; we have here a playbill of 1852 on which Mr. Mackay is announced to perform *Bailie Nicol Jarvie* for the 1,134th time. Mr. Baynham's book is neatly printed (in an edition limited to 400 copies), and has for its frontispiece a clear photogravure of the Dunlop Street Theatre.

Into a very pretty little volume Mr. William Winter has gathered a score or more of his minor theatrical articles, written from day to day as occasion served and as the passing show gave opportunity, and yet written always with abundant literary art and with the constant desire to pay due meed of praise to those features of the contemporary stage which were best worth commemoration. There are criticisms here of Mr. Booth, Mr. Irving, Signor Salvini, Miss Mary Anderson, Miss Ellen Terry, Miss Ada Rehan, Mr. James Lewis, Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, and Mr. Jefferson among the living, and of Charlotte Cushman, Lawrence Barrett, W. J. Florence, John McCullough, and Charles Fisher among the dead. These latter are supplementary, as it were, to the essays in the 'Brief Chronicles' which Mr. Winter prepared for the Dunlop Society two or three years ago, just as the former are, some of them at least, appendices to his longer studies of the theatrical career of Mr. Booth, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Irving, and Miss Anderson. In spirit and in quality Mr. Winter's writing varies but little. Perhaps the best paper of all is the first, on 'The Good Old Times,' in which Mr. Winter, out of the fulness of knowledge—and no man has a more minute acquaintance with even the details of stage-history in Great Britain and in the United States—answers those who bemoan the decadence of the art of acting and ignorantly sacrifice the present to the past.

In the past four or five years there have appeared in Paris, in London, and in New York half-a-dozen manuals of play-making, each and every one pretending to set forth the whole art of the dramatist in ten easy lessons. Mr. Archer's book is the last of these, and its merits and its demerits vary but little from those of its predecessors. Its special characteristic is that its author is an actor, who looks at plays from the actor's point of view. It may be doubted whether a perusal of all these manuals would not confuse a novice more than it would help him; and yet the dramatic art is very difficult, and abounds in technicalities which the beginner must master somehow. Mr. Archer's analysis of Dr. Marston's 'Favorite of Fortune,' scene by scene and character by character, is likely to be of service to the beginner, as it reveals the method by which the skilful dramatist prepares his effects, leading up to them adroitly; and, as M. Dumas fils has put it boldly, 'the art of the dramatist is an art of preparation.'

Four years ago M. Henry Lecomte gave us a full and elaborate biography of Frédéric Lemaître; and he has now followed this with a biography of Lemaître's contemporary Déjazet, written according to the same method, but fortunately not extending to the same length. The longest chapter in the book contains the love-letters of Déjazet in 1850 and thereabouts to an actor whose Christian name was Charles, and whom the reader familiar with the Parisian stage will have little difficulty in identifying with the late Charles Fechter. Just how these letters came into the

hands of the author is not explained, and the reason for their publication at the present time is equally inexplicable. What is most piquant in M. Lecomte's biography is the attack on M. Victorien Sardou, who owed his first chance as a dramatist to Déjazet, and who is here charged with the grossest ingratitude toward her.

But M. Sardou is used to attack, and he is generally able to give a good account of himself. It remains to be seen whether he can defend himself as successfully against the 'personal study' which the lady who signs herself 'Blanche Roosevelt' has recently put forth. A 'study' this little book of hers is not, as any one could guess who had seen her earlier volumes on Longfellow and Doré and Verdi; but it is 'personal' enough, and if M. Sardou has read it, and if he has approved of its publication, as we are told in the preface, then he must take the consequences. Even more absurd than 'Blanche Roosevelt's' own writing is the preface in which a Mr. Beatty-Kingston declares that this volume, like the fair authoress's other works, is 'suffused with the personality of its illustrious subject, while bearing the impress of its author's vigorous individuality.' In this preface there is also a quotation from a preface of M. Arsène Houssaye's to one of the author's other books, describing her appearance at the age of seventeen, when she was 'lovely with every loveliness.' All that is of value in 'Blanche Roosevelt's' book is the report of certain of M. Sardou's views in regard to the supreme importance of construction in the modern drama. The author not only is without a clear understanding of M. Sardou's real and obvious qualities as a dramatist, she is even at sea in regard to the facts of his career, blundering as to the dates of his plays—recording 'Nos Intimes,' for example, 'as produced in 1869,' and setting down on the list of his plays both 'Séraphine' and 'La Dévote,' ignorant that these two titles refer to one and the same piece, originally called by the latter name and actually acted under the former. That 'Les Ganaches' is here misnamed 'Les Gauches' is probably only one of the misprints in which the book abounds—some of them very comic indeed. Perhaps most ridiculous is that on pp. 117-18, by which the sex is changed of those actors of the Comédie-Française who had parts in 'Thermidor.' But almost as humorous is the assertion that the Comte de Chambord threatened to come from Versailles 'en Rio,' which is probably a transmogrification of 'en roi.'

Select Cases on Evidence at the Common Law.

By James Bradley Thayer, LL.D. Cambridge: Charles W. Sever.

THIS bulky volume, the preparation of which has been compelled, the compiler tells us, by the increasing demands of the classes in the Harvard Law School on the overtaxed library in Austin Hall, is the latest of a notable series of case-books which includes Langdell's 'Cases on Contracts,' Ames's 'Cases on Bills and Notes,' Keener's 'Cases on Quasi-Contracts,' and Gray's admirable and monumental collection of 'Cases on Property.' Prof. Thayer's book has departed a little from its models, of which the earliest contained nothing at all but cases, and in which nothing served to break the continuity but the heading of a new chapter; for each of his chapters and subdivisions of chapters is prefaced by liberal selections from standard text-writers, such as Maine and Stephen, and illumined by explanatory notes, which are, in many cases, selections from some of his own striking articles on the Law

of Evidence that have appeared in the *Harvard Law Review*. This articulate development of the theme makes the book so suggestive that it is a pity the necessities of the School forbid that head-notes and an index-rerum should also make it easy of constant reference by the practitioner.

A selection from one of Prof. Thayer's articles, prefatory to the first chapter, surpasses, for reasonable and clear treatment of the Law of Evidence, almost anything ever written on it, and makes us impatient for the appearance of the author's long-expected treatise on that subject. 'Evidence,' Prof. Thayer thinks, 'is any legal fact which is furnished to a legal tribunal—otherwise than by reasoning or reference to what is noticed without proof—as the basis of inference in ascertaining some other matter of fact.' The Law of Evidence fixes the qualifications, and privileges of witnesses, but chiefly determines what matters of logically relevant fact—for logic must first determine whether one fact be relevant to another or no, before the Law of Evidence is invoked at all—'shall not be received' in evidence. We have here a seemingly contradictory but historically correct definition; for, a Prof. Thayer explains, the law of evidence is a set of rules not as to the admission, but as to the exclusion, of things in themselves relevant, and various exceptions to those rules, which have been evolved from the separation in the English common law of the functions of a judge on the bench, who is to judge of law, from the jury, who are to judge of facts alone. From the jury's consideration must be removed all things, however logically relevant, whose importance may be distorted or whose distastefulness may prejudice their determination, although Scotch and French judges, and English chancery and ecclesiastical judges, sitting without a jury, would take such matters under consideration, as unlikely to affect unduly their disciplined minds. It is a question whether, if the jury were abolished, those rules of exclusion would relax as insensibly as they originally grew, or whether they are now such an integral part of the English law that nothing would substantially do away with them; but if the abolition of the jury system were to accomplish such an end, it would be another argument for that often-mooted but never-attempted revolution that it would greatly simplify trials of fact by facilitating proof.

It is at all events most interesting to follow Prof. Thayer's historical analysis of how the jury—the 'fairest jewel' in the English judicial system—has in reality hampered the determination of cases by admitting in evidence on them only facts capable of comprehension by a gross intellect rather than a keen one; and how (the historical origin of this arbitrary rule of selective exclusion being lost sight of) a parasitic growth of rules of substantive law, affecting the production of evidence on the trial of cases, has come to make the very name of the Law of Evidence a terror to the student. It can be said of Prof. Thayer's book that it divests the law of this confusing growth, and permits the student to understand its original and derivative function, and the practitioner to understand how best to attempt to simplify and ameliorate it.

B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783. Vol. XIV. Nos. 1372-1450. London: B. F. Stevens.

The papers contained in this volume relate to

the same subject as those in the thirteenth. They cover the dates from November 6, 1776, to March 14, 1777. We see Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador in Paris, a haughty, ill-mannered man, who yet thinks himself very polite and diplomatic, remonstrating with the French Ministers and trying to bully them. They are lying to him, and he knows it, but neither side is ready to throw away the mask. Both countries expect war, and both are willing to postpone it.

In a letter written by the American Commissioners in France to the Committee of Correspondence of Congress in Philadelphia, we get a glimpse of the methods by which the English Ministers are recruiting their armies in America:

"The Anspachers who were to be embarked in Holland mutinied & refused to proceed; so that their Prince was obliged to go with his Guards & force them on: A Gentleman of Rotterdam, writes us that he saw Numbers brought bound Hands & Feet in Boats to that place. This does not seem as if much Service can be expected from such unwilling Soldiers." (1448.)

The incident referred to was not unknown. The British Government, among its contracts for "Hessians," included one for a contingent of the subjects of the Margrave of Anspach-Bayreuth. The soldiers who were thus sold marched out from Anspach in two regiments, with 101 chasseurs and 44 artillerymen—in all, 1,285 men. They marched in good order to the neighborhood of the little walled town of Ochsenfurth, which is prettily situated on the Main, and which belonged at that time to the Bishop of Würzburg. Here, toward nightfall, they were put into the boats in which they were to float down stream to Holland. But one night aboard made the hearts of these landmen sink within them. They had enlisted to face the enemy, but not the perils of the deep and rapid Main, or of that even greater expanse of water of which they had vaguely heard as the Ocean. They were willing to stand their ground, but they wanted ground to stand on; so they broke out into mutiny and rebellion, pushed their boats ashore, and refused to obey their officers.

Here was news to disturb the serenity of the Most Serene Highness, sitting there quietly in the palace at Anspach and wondering in a dreamy way on what day he might expect the first instalment of the subsidy he was to receive for the services of these very troops. A fine time he expects to have spending that money. He has planned a most charming journey to Paris. Visions of the Boulevards, with their rows of smaller theatres, of the Palais Royal and its mixed company, of Versailles and the court, are chasing each other in somewhat confused fashion through His Serene Highness's day-dream. The young Queen of France is smiling most graciously on a prince supposed to have leanings toward her native Austria—but a chamberlain has burst into the room: "The troops, Durchlauchtster Herr, the troops are in revolt!" "What does he say?" The Margrave is out of his arm-chair. "Bring me my boots! *Saperment!* not those things!—the riding-boots! Never mind the watch! No need of a carpet-bag. My gray horse and such cavalry as are on guard, and see that the pistols are in the holsters!" And so His Highness gallops off to Ochsenfurth, and appears among his naughty children by the waterside, and coaxes and drives them aboard, and even accompanies them down the river, stopping at Hanau to borrow some clean shirts, and brings them to Rotterdam, where Dr. Franklin hears

of them; but His Serene Highness does not go with his men to America.

Perhaps it would have been better for their reputation and his own had he done so. Perhaps in that case Sir Henry Clinton would not have found it necessary to send the Anspachers round by water from Philadelphia to New York in the summer of 1778, with the invalids and the non-combatants instead of including them in his marching army. Perhaps the German prince would have shown himself a brave man if an unscrupulous one, willing to sell his own body for foreign service as well as those of his subjects. But no, the Margrave returned to Anspach, picked up his watch and pocketed his subsidy, and went off to Paris after all.

Distinction and the Criticism of Belief. By Alfred Sidgwick. Longmans. 1892.

MR. SIDGWICK enjoys a certain reputation, he carries an air of distinction and mundanity in his style, and he professes to discuss questions of logic in a fresh and enlightened way; so that we open his books in high expectation. But we lay them down with a sigh. All that has been accomplished in this department of thought since the days when it was possible for a Hegel to publish such attempts at analysis as Hegel's were, might as well have remained unrecorded as far as Mr. Sidgwick's teachings are concerned. Now, that a man can do fine work in logic without being well read in its literature, several eminent instances render more than evident. But the requisite to such fruitfulness is an extraordinarily vigorous mind, that brings forth genuine flowers of thought, bright, delicate, and redolent of suggestion, and not mere fabrications of tissue-paper, needing wires stuck through them to hold them in shape.

The author opens by explaining that the subject of his studies is Ambiguity. This promises well, for there is nothing thinkers of his quality need more to study. But we soon find ourselves wondering whether he knows what the word ambiguity means. He can hardly be unaware there is such a fault, but he appears to have little dread of it. The real topic of his book is not that, but vagueness. Ambiguity is a confusion between ideas quite distinct, such as the *unlimited* and the *immeasurable*; and though 'Distinction' does not treat of this, it richly illustrates it. Vagueness is an indeterminacy in the limits of the application of an idea, as to how many grains of sand are required to make a *heap*, and the like. It is not necessarily a fault of reasoning; in its lower degrees it is but an unavoidable and harmless imperfection of thought. The problem Mr. Sidgwick sets himself is to note the precautions needful that vagueness may not lead into positive error; and a problem of elementary simplicity it is. Yet 280 pages might suffice to muddle it, and this volume has 279. An efficient aid in treating such a subject, so as to satisfy the skimmer of books that he has gone over matter which would have been worth reading—and this class numbers important critics—is a vocabulary well chosen to render the meanings of dubious propositions questionable, and to dress up familiar ideas in queer disguises.

Mr. Sidgwick informs us that "distinction as such—distinction at all—is the separation of kinds; and the notion of separate kinds is unavoidably opposed to the notion of differences which are merely of degree." The first half of this statement is, of course, true, if the writer chooses to take the word "distinction" in the

sense which makes it so. In the received language of logic the separation of kinds is called *division*, and *distinction* is restricted to a separation of significations; in metaphysics, *distinction* is any kind of otherness. But the second part of the statement, that a "distinction" cannot be merely quantitative, is a fair specimen of Mr. Sidgwick's logic. Is there any "distinction" between the color of scarlet iodide of mercury and that of Paris green? If not, we fear the new meaning of "distinction" is not a very useful one. The two colors are defined by the following equations:

$$\text{Scarlet} = .78 R + 0.10 G - 0.05 B.$$

$$\text{Emerald} = -0.03 R + 0.91 G - 0.12 B,$$

where R, G, and B denote a standard red, green, and blue respectively. It is seen that the colors differ only by the magnitudes of certain coefficients. There seems to be some conflict here.

Is Mr. Sidgwick quite sure of his position? Here is his argument, with which he is plainly very well satisfied: "In order to put any meaning into the name 'difference in kind,' we must have some alternative contrasted with it, and that alternative is 'difference in degree.'" What shall we say of this reasoning? It is highly philosophical, no doubt; but a favorite division with Mr. Sidgwick is that of thought into philosophy and good sense.

He tells us that wherever there is continuity, every distinction must be vague and hazy in its outlines. If he means that a surface cannot be part scarlet and part emerald, with a sharp boundary between them, he is making a large draft upon the confiding trust of the reader. But on p. 72 Mr. Sidgwick lets drop a remark about continuity (and a long annotation shows it to be no inadvertency) which disqualifies him from teaching the properties of continuity, by showing him ignorant of one of the fundamental discriminations established by modern discussions, and no longer in intelligent dispute. The remark in question implies that infinite divisibility—that is, the presence, in a row of points, of intermediate points between every two points—excludes the existence of finite gaps in the row. But put this to the test. From the whole series of rational fractions remove $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ and all fractions intermediate between these in value. This makes a gap in the series; yet it remains as true of the series so mutilated as it was of the uncut series, that if any two fractions which belong to it are given, a fraction of intermediate value can be found belonging to it.

Mr. Sidgwick says that if nature is continuous, it *certainly* follows that "the laws of thought" (the quotation-marks are his) are false in every case, as applied to actual things. By the laws of thought he means the principles of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle, which he says are "usually" so called. If he would look into the last fifty treatises on logic in German, English, and French, he would find, we think, that these principles are not now usually called the laws of thought. Any deeper acquaintance with the actual state of logical analysis would show that such a designation is the mark of an obsolescent and degenerate school of logicians. But let us see what his reasons are for saying these principles are falsified by continuity. In the case of the principle of identity, the reason is that "any actual A has been non-A and will be non-A again; it has therefore some non-A in it." But suppose we grant this (though it is *therefore* absurd), it does not touch the principle of identity, which simply says, "A is A"—i.e., every term can be predicated of itself—

and makes no reference to the relation between A and non-A. For the principle of contradiction his reason is, that "any actual A may deserve to be called non-A." For the principle of excluded middle his reason is, that "between the actual A's and non-A's there is always a middle region, or borderland." Besides being the baldest possible *petitiones principii*, these reasons overlook the paradox which really does give to continuity an appearance of inconsistency. If a surface be painted part red and part green, it is true that points on the boundary-line are equally green and red, and thus for them it seems that either the principle of contradiction or that of excluded middle must be violated in form. But this is not true of points in general, nor of any region, as Mr. Sidgwick's reasons imply. The violation of consistency is merely apparent, as any sound brain will feel. Every portion of the surface is either red or green, those which cross the boundary being partly red and partly green. But a point is not a portion of a surface; and the true characters of the points with reference to the colors are three: namely, they are either (1) wholly surrounded by red portions, or (2) wholly surrounded by green portions, or (3) partly surrounded by red and partly by green portions. Literally, nothing but a surface is colored; to call a point colored is a figure of speech, and this figure of speech it is which alone gives the appearance of a violation of the principle of contradiction.

But enough of this. The spectacle of Mr. Alfred Sidgwick grappling with the problem of continuity is like an infant slapping the face of the Great Sphinx: it is so ridiculous as to become positively touching. He is more in his element with such questions as these: "Is snow a thing, or is it only an accidental state of matter? And is water, for that matter, anything more than an imperfectly stable condition of its two component gases?" He reaches his largest proportions in our eyes when we find him criticising with success the reasoning in those gigantic efforts of intellect, the debates in the British House of Commons, such as the following:

"Lord R. Churchill—He says it is well known in war that movements which are offensive in their nature are sometimes defensive in their essence.

"Mr. Gladstone—Offensive in their form.
"Lord R. Churchill—What does that come to—that the attack of Gen. Graham was offensive in its form but not in its nature? Three thousand men or more were slaughtered, as a matter of form, by movements which were not offensive in their nature!"

Until our "G. B." has his way, it may be feared we shall not hear debating like that in the House of Representatives. In this country we have not time for such reasonings, nor for the other argumentations which Mr. Sidgwick is occupied with refuting, nor for the closely similar ones with which he would replace them.

Memorials of Sarah Childress Polk, Wife of the Eleventh President of the United States.
By Anson and Fanny Nelson. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

THE writers of these memorials of the wife of President Polk have erred in trying to draw too much of her personality from its "dread repose" in the past. Not satisfied with recording what they knew from personal experience of the object of their naïve and almost childish veneration, they have sought to reconstruct her life from its commencement—in the third year of the present century. In spite of their elaborate pains to produce a contrary effect, the reader is able to descry only the figure of

a sufficiently ordinary young woman, who, while at school at the Moravian Female Academy in Salem, N. C. (whither she was sent from her home in Tennessee), produced in needlework, on a satin background, the picture of a tombstone with trees, in which "the different shades of green, brown, and yellow blend naturally"; and whose "playful wit and ready repartee" do not, at any time in her life, in the samples offered strike one as either very witty or wise overmuch.

During her fourteen winters in Washington as the wife of a Congressman, from 1825 to 1839, Mrs. Polk seems to have preserved a conduct void of offence. Typical of her merits at this time was the habit of "instantly checking" her hasty remarks whenever she observed a certain smile of Mr. Polk's, "which she well understood to mean disapproval of her inconsiderateness." "The dazzling and deceptive allurements" of life in the White House were powerless to shake the firmness of her Presbyterian principles. She studied the "abstruse and complicated political questions of the day," and is said to have had insight and judgment, but too much delicacy and reserve to proclaim political opinions. This, however, should have been considered the pity of it. Delicacy and reserve in political affairs are well-bred virtues that have cost Mrs. Polk's country too dear. It would have been as one who set an example of actively expressing enlightened opinions on public questions that she would have deserved to be held up to admiration by her biographers.

It was, in fact, not until her widowhood that Mrs. Polk became a notable and interesting figure. The prestige that she gained and kept during the many remaining years of her long childless life (which did not close until August, 1891) she owed to the rare capacity she was gifted with—the capacity to understand herself. Had she chosen any other line of conduct than the one she persistently pursued, the brilliance of her past would probably have been forgotten, and she herself lost to view in the pressure of a society with whose developments she could hardly have kept pace. As it was, she never left, save for visits to her mother at Murfreesborough, the home in Nashville to which her husband had retired in 1849, as soon as his term of office had ended, and only four months before his death. In her dignified house, in the capital of the State of which her husband had once been Governor, within sight of his tomb—conspicuously built in the grounds—and surrounded by portraits which recalled the prominent associations of her earlier years, and by relics around which hung an historical odor, she played to perfection her rôle of Dowager "First Lady of the Land."

Another gift Mrs. Polk also possessed in an eminent degree—one that very fitly makes her an ideal for a people whose habits of life tend to produce an old age that is neither mellow nor replete. This was her power of growing old consciously, serenely, and graciously. Hence came her supreme charm, a charm that made her so touching a figure to the many eminent persons who visited the home where she and her sorrow sat in state. It was doubtless this charm that inspired the enthusiasm of her biographers, and made their task so much a labor of love that it is easy to pardon them the literary failings and the provinciality of tone that mar its effectiveness.

History of the English Landed Interest, its Customs, Laws, and Agriculture. By Russell M. Garnier, B.A., Oxon. London:

Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1892.

ONE wonders whether a book like this does harm or good. It has an attractive title, and will probably get into the hands of many English landlords who would not be reached by more scholarly treatises. As a land-agent of long experience, the author is qualified to give an opinion on the technical side of mediæval agriculture; and accordingly there are passages here and there which are worth reading. But, with these inconsiderable exceptions, there is absolutely nothing original in all his four hundred pages. It is not even a good abstract, for it is tediously long-winded. The author is without adequate historical training, and falls into ludicrous blunders; his style is lumbering and occasionally obscure, relieved only by purple patches of untrustworthy rhetoric; and he has no notion of what is meant by argument or proof. There is a plentiful array of references, but they can hardly be relied upon. Many of them would seem to be borrowed, and probably borrowed wrongly—to judge from some of the more patent absurdities, as where the farmer who turned clothier is said to have "incurred by so doing the statute-book's contemptuous synonym (1) of 'foreigner'" (1), with a reference to 5 and 6 Ed. VI., c. 8.

The descriptions and narratives which the book contains are hardly more than paraphrases of Rogers, Seeböhm, Vinogradoff, Ashley, Prothero, and other easily accessible writers. As a rule, the author docilely acquiesces in whatever his authority tells him; where he tries to be independent he is generally wrong. On the one question where opinions are so divergent that the author has to make up his mind between them—that of the origin of the manor—he attempts a compromise. But this compromise can assuredly retain an appearance of probability only so long as it is left in the easy vagueness with which Mr. Garnier clothes it. Neither in this nor in any other part of the subject will the reader find a clear picture of past conditions, nor a real sense of historical development.

Text-Book of Comparative Anatomy. By Dr. Arnold Lang. Part I. Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 562, illustrated.

THIS is an improvement on the majority of the manuals relating to its subject. It is especially adapted to teachers of general zoölogy in grammar or high schools or the minor colleges, and to their pupils. To a certain extent it will prove of advantage to more advanced students and to specialists, but the lack of references to authorities for statements in the text makes it necessary to investigate elsewhere before citing the author as originally responsible for anything. The text is good so far as it goes, and is tolerably well up to date; the illustrations are numerous and of good quality. There are six chapters in all; these are apportioned to the Cell and the Protozoa, the Metazoa, the Platydes, the Vermes, the Crustacea, Trilobites, Gigantostroma, Hemiaspidæ, Xiphosura, and Pantopoda, and the three classes of the Tracheata—Protracheata, Antennata, and Arachnoidea, with an appendage to the arthropods, the Tardigrada. The classification adopted may not be one that will meet with general acceptance; this, however, is not a serious matter, since the phylogenies given by the different authors are usually regarded by students as subjects for all sorts of changes and revisions. The work, being in greater part a compilation, is naturally somewhat uneven in quality, some portions having

been repeatedly verified and others being still in need of verification. A good supply of prefaces is furnished; there is an author's preface, a translator's preface, and a preface by Prof. Haeckel, in which, after the familiar announcement that Haeckel once wrote a work called 'Die Generelle Morphologie,' etc., a good word is spoken for Prof. Lang. The book is one of the best, if not the best, in its particular field.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Aldrich, Aretta R. Children, their Models and Critics. Harpers.
Austin, Jane G. David Alden's Daughter, and Other Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.
Ballantyne, R. M. The Hot Swamp: A Romance of Old Albion. T. Nelson & Sons.
Barker, Prof. G. F. Physics: Advanced Course. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.50.
Bates, Clara D. From Heart's Content: Poems. Chicago: Morrill, Higgins & Co. \$1.25.
Besant, Walter. The Ivory Gate. Harpers.
Boyd, Rev. A. K. H. Twenty-five Years of St. Andrews. Vol. II. Longmans. \$3.
Boyesen, H. H. Boyhood in Norway. Scribners. \$1.50.
Buckley, J. M. Faith-Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena. The Century Co. \$1.25.
Cathrein, Rev. V. Socialism Exposed and Refuted. Benziger Bros. 75 cents.
Craig, W. J. Complete Works of Shakspeare. (The Oxford Miniature Shakspeare.) 6 vols. T. Nelson & Sons.
Craig, W. J. Complete Works of Shakspeare. (The Oxford Shakspeare.) T. Nelson & Sons.
Cuyler, Rev. T. L. Stirring the Eagle's Nest: Discourses. Baker & Taylor Co. \$1.25.
Deems, Rev. C. F. My Septuagint. Cassell. \$1.
Eaton, Rev. A. W. College Requirements in English Entrance Examinations. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Everett-Green, Evelyn. The Lord of Dynevor. T. Nelson & Sons.
Fennell, C. S. M. The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Fouard, Abbé C. St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity. Longmans. \$2.
Frederic, H. The Return of the O'Mahony. Robert Bonner's Sons. \$1.50.

George, A. J. Wordsworth's Prefaces and Essays on Poetry. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 55 cents.
Goss, W. L. Tom Clifton; or, Western Boys in Grant and Sherman's Army. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.50.
Hawthorne, N. Wonder Book for Boys and Girls. Illustrated by Walter Crane. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Herrick, Christine T. The Little Dinner. Scribners. \$1.
Hobson, E. W., and Jessop, C. M. An Elementary Treatise on Plane Trigonometry. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.
Holmes, Dr. O. W. Dorothy Q. Illustrated. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Humphrey, F. P. A New England Cactus, and Other Tales. Cassell.
Imbert de Saint-Amand. The Duchess of Berry and the Court of Charles X. Scribners. \$1.25.
Johnston, Prof. H. W. Selected Orations and Letters of Cicero. Chicago: Albert, Scott & Co. \$1.25.
Jessopp, Rev. Augustus. The Coming of the Friars, and Other Historic Essays. 5th ed. Putnam's. \$1.25.
Jessopp, Rev. Augustus. Wise Words and Quaint Counsels of Thomas Fuller. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Kellogg, Rev. S. H. The Genesis and Growth of Religion. Macmillan. \$1.50.
Knox, T. W. The Boy Travellers in Central Europe. Harpers.
Laidlaw, Rev. J. The Miracles of Our Lord, Expository and Homiletic. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$1.75.
Lee, S. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXXII. Lambie-Leigh. Macmillan & Co. \$3.25.
Le Gallienne, Richard. English Poems. London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane; New York: Cassell.
Lubbock, Sir J. The Beauties of Nature and the Wonders of the World We Live In. Macmillan. \$1.50.
Maartens, Maarten. God's Fool: a Koopstad Story. Appletons. \$1.25.
Machar, Agnes M. Roland Graeme: Knight. Fords, Howard & Hubert. \$1.
Magill, Prof. E. H. A Reading French Grammar. Philadelphia: Christopher Sower Co. 60 cents.
Mahan, Capt. A. T. Admiral Farragut. Appletons.
Moeller, Wilhelm. History of the Christian Church, A. D. 1-600. London: Sonnenschein; New York: Macmillan. \$3.75.
Molesworth, Mrs. Robin Redbreast: A Story for Girls. Thomas Whitaker. \$1.25.
Muddock, J. E. Maid Marian and Robin Hood. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$1.25.

Munroe, Kirk. Canoemates. Harpers. \$1.25.
Musick, J. R. Saint Augustine: A Story of the Huguenots in America. Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$1.50.
Nelson, Anson, and Fanny. Memorials of Sarah Childress Polk. Randolph. \$1.75.
Normand, Prof. C. J. B. Greuze. Macmillan.
Ohnet, Georges. Nemrod & Cie. Paris: Ollendorff; New York: Westernmann.
Old Italian Masters Engraved by Timothy Cole. The Century Co. \$10.00.
Ompteda, Baron. Memoirs. B. Westermann & Co. \$5.
Our Presidents from 1788 to 1892. Niccoll & Roy Co.
Page, H. W. Railway Injuries. William Wood & Co.
Page, T. N. Marse Chan: A Tale of Old Virginia. Illustrated. Scribners.
Paris, G. Extraits de la Chanson de Roland. 3d ed. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70 cents.
Parker, G. F. A Life of Grover Cleveland, with a Sketch of Adlai E. Stevenson. Cassell. 50 cents.
Parkman, Francis. The Oregon Trail: Illustrated. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$4.
Pennell, J., and Mrs. E. R. Play in Provence. Century Co. \$1.50.
Perry, Nora. A Rosebud Garden of Girls. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.
Powell, E. P. Liberty and Life. Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co. 50 cents.
Putnam, M. Louise. The Children's Life of Abraham Lincoln. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.
Rand & McNally's Handy Guide to Chicago and the World's Columbian Exposition. Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.
Rawnsley, H. D. Notes for the Nile. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam's. \$1.50.
Ray, Anna C. In Blue Creek Cañon. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.
Raymond, Mrs. E. Monica, the Mesa Maiden. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.
Ritchie, Anne T. Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning. Harpers.
Roberts, Morley. The Reputation of George Saxton, and Other Stories. Cassell. \$1.50.
Romance of Trouville. Robert Bonner's Sons. \$1.
Roy, John. Helen Treveryan; or, The Ruling Race. Macmillan. \$1.
Roseboro', Miss Viola. Old Ways and New. Century Co. \$1.25.
Stoddard, Rev. C. A. Spanish Cities, with Glimpses of Gibraltar and Tangier. Scribners. \$1.50.
Stoddard, W. O. The Battle of New York. Appletons.
Wiltse, Sara E. The Place of the Story in Early Education, and Other Essays. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60 cents.
Zola, Emile. Money. Worthington Co.

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